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Petrovskiy Views Nuclear Proliferation With IAEA

LD0908124589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0605 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Vienna, 9 Aug (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, who is here on a working visit, held a meeting with the leadership of the International Atomic Energy Authority [IAEA]. During the conversation, issues related to the activity of this organization in monitoring the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons were considered. The conversation reflected the growing understanding in the world of the need to strengthen multilateral measures to prevent the spread of the most devastating weapons of mass destruction and to further develop and improve the existing international mechanism to this end.

The participants in the meeting noted that the IAEA's experience in monitoring activity and the specific methods and means utilized can be applied to elaborate on steps to monitor nuclear weapons.

The importance of forming an international mechanism to safeguard nuclear power engineering development, the role of the IAEA in creating a new generation of safe nuclear reactors, and the search for a solution to the problem of the burial of radioactive waste, was stressed.

Army Paper Views Progress at Vienna Talks

PM0908153089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Colonel V. Nazarenko article under the rubric "Vienna Talks": "Toward a Rapprochement in Positions"]

[Text] The second round of talks between representatives of 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries on conventional armed forces in Europe has ended in the Austrian capital. It is generally acknowledged that the diplomats and experts dispersed to their various countries with a sense of satisfaction in the results achieved. Does this mean that the structure of an initial agreement is already clearly defined? What questions of principle remain to be resolved?

It is well known that by the end of the first round the participants in the debates had succeeded only in sketching out the outlines of an initial agreement in the most general form. By the beginning of the second intermission, however, the delegations had formed a good idea of its structural plan. This means that the framework of a future accord has become clear, and this framework must include: overall limitation levels on the five most destabilizing categories of conventional arms (planes, helicopters, tanks, armored vehicles, artillery) plus personnel; limitation levels on these categories for a single country and for the forces of each alliance stationed outside national territories on the continent of Europe; regions with corresponding sublevels of arms and personnel in the zone from the Atlantic to the Urals. "This is the backbone of an initial agreement," Special Ambassador O.A. Grinevskiy, leader of the Soviet delegation, said, "formulated on the basis of initiatives from the two alliances."

In a word, the second round of the talks was marked by intensiveness, productivity, and the dynamic and constructive nature of the discussions. It is noteworthy and very important that agreement on the six categories that make up the potential for surprise attack and offensive operations are already recorded in textual form in a preliminary draft of the first phase of the future agreement.

But despite substantial positive developments achieved in several months of talks, differences remain in the sides' approaches, and very substantial ones. One of the most serious problems in the path to an agreement involves combat planes. The NATO countries, adhering to their concept of conventional arms control, are still proposing the reduction of all combat planes based on land in Europe, including such purely defensive systems as counterair interceptors which are incapable of hitting targets on the ground. After including on the reductions list land-based naval planes, training planes, and obsolete light planes, the West proposes to limit the number of combat machines to 5,700 on each side. In this connection, to judge by repeated statements by NATO representatives, British and French planes designed for use in nuclear or conventional versions will not be included in the number subject to reduction. This is in sharp contrast with what the Warsaw Pact countries propose—the setting of a limit of 1,500 assault planes, including "dual purpose" systems, for each military alliance.

But when it comes to another form of arms, combat helicopters, the sides' positions are close. Both as regards the actual concept of a "combat helicopter," and as regards the limitation level for this category of arms: NATO proposes a ceiling of 1,900 for each alliance (true, the West also includes land-based naval helicopters in the category of combat helicopters), and the Warsaw Pact—1,700.

Unfortunately there was no serious progress in coordinating positions on the limitation levels for the armaments of the ground forces. Back in May the sides seemed to have established quite clearly that tanks should be reduced to a level of 20,000, armored carries to 28,000, and artillery systems to 24,000 (the Warsaw Pact proposal) or 16,500 (NATO's proposal). But in the course of the talks questions arose over definitions: what is to be deemed a "combat tank," what caliber counts as an artillery gun, how do you categorize, for instance, combat reconnaissance vehicles and light tanks. If, for instance, the two alliances reduce their tank pools to 20,000, some 2,000 NATO light tanks will not be subject to reduction.

Excluding light tanks from the accords could boost the arms race in that direction. The fact is that the present-day level of military technology makes it possible to create tanks based on light alloys, which, despite having a low weight, will possess the tactical and technical characteristics of a modern heavy tank. Furthermore the NATO countries intend to exclude large-caliber antitank artillery from the arms subject to reduction, on the pretext that it is supposed to be purely defensive. In fact, antitank artillery can be used successfully for offensive purposes too, in particular to destroy manpower with fragmentation shells.

Behind all these "exclusions," in the opinion of Soviet experts, is a patent desire to keep some gaps in the structure of the future agreement, so as to retain the possibility of giving it different interpretations and ultimately bypassing it.

The same dangerous trend is emerging in the NATO countries' approach to the problem of stockpiled arms. The West insists that stockpiles of weapons and military hardware should not be counted in the so-called regional sublevels. The intention here is simple: to preserve in Central Europe stockpiles of heavy arms above the limits set for units in combat readiness, in order, they assert, to compensate for the Warsaw Pact's supposed geostrategic advantages. NATO representatives do not object to placing stockpiles under international verification, but they insist stubbornly that they are not counted. In practice this means that at any moment NATO could add to, for instance, the 8,000 tanks earmarked for Central Europe a further 4,000 that are in stockpiles. Can this factor be disregarded? In that case, what is the purpose of the regional division of the reduction zone?

There are also differences between the sides on the category of personnel subject to reduction. NATO proposes only to "cut" the numerical strength of ground and air forces of the United States and the Soviet Union outside their national borders in Europe to a level of 275,000 men on each side. The list of those subject to reduction excludes British, French, Canadian, Belgian, and Netherlands troops stationed outside their own countries in Europe. Yet their strength amounts to more than 100,000 men. That is a substantial force. How can one agree to such an unbalanced approach? Especially since the West does not, apparently, intend to set alliance ceilings for troops on the continent as a whole or for individual regions, which is contrary to the mandate of the talks.

One key problem in the round that has just ended was to divide the entire zone from the Atlantic to the Urals into regions, in each of which ceilings would be set for specific categories of arms and personnel. The regional limits are designed to avert the possibility of a dangerous confrontation of troops and arms in the zone of contact between the alliances (from Norway to Turkey), where the first operational echelons of the Warsaw Pact and NATO are stationed on either side, and also to avert the possibility of shipments of forces and resources from rear regions to forward regions.

As yet the sides agree only that it is necessary particularly to single out the Central Europe region. As for the configuration of the regions ("carving up" the map of Europe), as well as regional sublevels of arms, differences exist here.

The sides' positions in the sphere of exchange of information and verification are comparatively similar.

The progress at the Vienna talks is obvious. But disarmament dialogue is a two-way street. Here there is a great need for joint efforts and a mutual striving by the sides to lay the foundations for building a new model of European security. Therefore now, during the break, which is to last until September, it is extremely important to study in detail every possible option for rapprochement between the sides' positions and for reaching an agreed initial accord taking into account the legitimate mutual security interests of all states.

Foreign Ministry's Perfilyev 9 Aug News Briefing

Condemns U.S. Bases in Philippines

LD0908140989 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—The Soviet Union proceeds from the view that the consolidation of security and stability on a global and regional scale is possible only through the easing of tension, arms reduction and corresponding changing of the military policy, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today.

He touched upon the situation in South East Asia in connection with the question of the future of U.S. military bases in the Philippines, which should be decided at the U.S.-Philippine talks to start late this year. Perfilyev called the attention of journalists to the emergence of "scenarios" of the continuation of the U.S. military presence in the region, specifically, the proposal that ASEAN countries should consent to the deployment of U.S. military facilities in their territory as a manifestation of solidarity with the Philippine leadership.

The widening of the U.S. military infrastructure in South East Asia in accordance with the logic of relying on bases can lead only to the stepping up of military confrontation with all the consequences for the region to follow, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. He expressed the opinion that such thinking cannot promote the advance of the ASEAN idea about the creation of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality and cannot be in keeping with non- confrontational principles of a Nonaligned Movement, as well as the tendency of the Asia-Pacific countries to ensure stability by political means.

Denies Deal Proposed on Kuriles

LD0908131589 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev today described as absolutely groundless a U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT allegation that the Soviet leadership had sent the Japanese Government a secret message, suggesting that Moscow would be willing to make a deal to hand over control over four islands of the Kurile archipelago to Japan in return for large investments in the Soviet economy.

There was no such message, nor could there be, Perfilyev, deputy chief of the ministry's information directorate, told a briefing here today.

The Soviet stand on Japanese territorial claims to the USSR has been repeatedly set forth and is well-known, he continued.

The Soviet Union believes that Japan's claims are grounded neither historically nor from the international legal standpoint. The Soviet position on this score remains unchanged, Perfilyev said.

Urges Israeli Withdrawal From Lebanon

LD1008132189 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 10 TASS—Conducting a briefing here today, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, again expressed the Soviet Union's concern over the situation in Lebanon.

Speaking of Tel Aviv's possible attempt (in the opinion of analysts) to take punitive actions in connection with an attack on an Israeli military motor vehicle column, which was carried out in south Lebanon, he pointed out that this would aggravate even more the situation in Lebanon and would make the problem of freeing hostages more difficult.

The spokesman said of the need for Israel to fulfill without delay Resolution 425 of the U.N. Security Council, demanding a complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. He noted that an end to the occupation of south Lebanese lands and to Israel's interference in domestic affairs of Lebanon would remove many obstacles in a search for a way out of the crisis in Lebanon and around it.

Views Arab League Peace Efforts

LD0908135289 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—The Soviet Union hopes that the Committee of the Three of the Arab League on Lebanon will continue to exert efforts "which are so necessary for the restoration of peace and accord," Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

He dwelt on a statement issued by the Committee of the Three on the results of the first two months of its work which is regarded by some observers almost as the failure of the Arab League's efforts to settle the Lebanese crisis. In the opinion of the Soviet side, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman continued, the Committee of the Three has not exhausted its peace-making potential in putting into practice the mandate given to it by the Casablanca All-Arab Conference. However, it certainly needs support both on the part of Arabs and the world community in general.

On its part, the USSR will continue to actively promote the noble humane and peace-making mission of the Committee of the Three and the constructive efforts of the Arab League aimed at stopping bloodshed in Lebanon as soon as possible and ensuring sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of that country.

Says U.S. 'Not Prepared' for Geneva Talks

LD0908151689 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—"The eleventh round of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva showed that the U.S. side arrived at the talks being not quite prepared for indepth consideration of all the problems on the agenda." This is how Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the information directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, assessed the conclusion of the latest round of the Geneva talks. He spoke at a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry today.

Nevertheless, on the whole this round of talks was positively assessed in the Soviet Union, he went on. It showed that continuity is preserved in the approach of the Bush administration to the problems of strategic offensive arms. Regrettably, the main obstacles that divided both sides before still remain. This applies above all to the relationship between reductions of strategic offensive arms and observance of the ABM treaty. There are no serious shifts in the U.S. position to this effect, even though there is a solid agreement reached at the Washington summit in December 1987.

There has been no advance either in the solution of the problem of the limitation of long-range sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMS). The Americans do not want to reach agreement on obligations envisaging sharp restrictions of SLCMs under effective control.

More promising was the discussion of questions of mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles. The positions were brought closer on these questions, even though the United States still makes reservations about the expediency of deploying such armaments that are called upon to strengthen strategic stability.

Certain progress has been achieved also in the area of verification. The sides are prepared to concentrate themselves on working out a reliable and effective system of verifying observance of commitments on reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms.

Perfilyev expressed the hope that the meeting of foreign ministers of the USSR and the US to be held in September will open an opportunity to give serious consideration to outstanding matters again and to chart the shortest roads to reaching agreements. But political decisions should be made for this purpose.

Views Arms Talks, Court, Africa Fund

LD0908162189 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—The eleventh round of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva has shown that the U.S. side was not quite ready to analyse all the problems included in the agenda, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today, speaking about the recent round of the Geneva talks.

And still, he continued, the Soviet Union assesses it positively, on the whole. This round showed that the George Bush administration preserves continuity in the approach to the problem of strategic offensive weapons. Perfilyev expressed hope that the coming meeting of Soviet and American foreign ministers due to be held in September would permit to seriously examine again the problems that remain to be resolved and to map out the shortest ways to reaching agreement.

Journalists were told about the latest round of Soviet-American talks in Washington on working out a joint approach to enhancing the role of the International Court of Justice [ICJ]. Perfilyev pointed out that the talks were held in the setting of the implementation of Mikhail Gorbachev's idea of enhancing the role of the International Court of Justice. The draft Soviet-American document "Mutually Acceptable Terms Connected With the Recognition of the Jurisdiction of the U.N. International Court of Justice" has been initialled already.

Perfilyev told about the fifth session of the Committee of the Fund of Opposition to Intervention, Colonialism and Apartheid (Africa Fund) held in New Delhi. It summed up the results of the fund's work since its creation in 1987. He said that the Soviet Union's contribution to the Africa Fund amounted to 100 million U.S. dollars. According to Perfilyev, recipients of Soviet aid expressed satisfaction at the New Delhi session over the Soviet Union's responsible approach to its commitments with regard to the Africa Fund at the present decisive stage of the struggle for the dismantling of apartheid.

Andrey Kozyrev, head of the International Organisations Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, also addressed the briefing. He had taken part in the second meeting of the group of governmental experts for preparing a U.N. study of the role this organisation plays in the sphere of arms limitation and disarmament control. He said that work was under way for getting the maximum effect of multilateral forums. The quest is beginning for ways of using international organisations for the solution of acute international political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other problems.

According to Kozyrev, the third meeting of experts, the next in turn, will be held in January 1990, and in summer the study will be completed. Its text will be submitted by the U.N. secretary-general to the General Assembly at the 45th session.

Comments on UNITA-Angola Talks

LD1008125189 Moscow TASS in English 1237 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 10 TASS—The Soviet Union would like to hope that the resumed talks in Zaire between the Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] on ending the Angolan conflict will facilitate movements towards complete termination of war in Angola, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing today.

He stressed that this primarily depends on how firmly UNITA will abide by agreement reached at the summit meeting of 20 African states in the Zairean city of Gbadolite.

"One cannot but feel concern about reports from Angola on violations by UNITA of these agreements. Official documents published in Angola make it clear that UNITA continues active terrorist actions which cause considerable loss of life and serious material damage," Perfilyev commented.

Updates Afghan Situation

LD0908202689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] There was a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center on topical questions of international politics. Comrade Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, for his part, gave information on the events taking place in Afghanistan over the past 24 hours.

[Begin Perfilyev recording] Extremists were attempting to transfer a large quantity of ammunition and arms to a group in Lougar Province, in the immediate vicinity of Kabul. The air force of the Republic of Afghanistan discovered this in good time and completely destroyed the enemy column, which was 2.5 km long.

During other actions in the same province, a large quantity of empty enemy motor vehicles were destroyed.

In Kabul province, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan dislodged the enemy from strategic points in the area of (Dehksabz), having siezed 138 battle reserves [boyezapasov], rocket launchers [granomet], and other ammunition. With the assistance of local inhabitants in the environs of Kabul, the Afghan security bodies discovered and siezed 30 kg of explosives, weapons, and ammunition. The Afghan security bodies arrested and handed over for trial the organizers of the recent explosion on Nadir Pashtun Street in Kabul as a result of which 8 people perished and 78 were injured, four of whom subsequently died of their wounds.

The intensity of the shelling of Kabul has decreased somewhat. Well, already over the past day, yesterday, 11 missiles were launched around the city, but there are victims; 1 peaceful citizen perished and 13 were injured. Two missiles fell in a small ammuniton store in the area of (?Hayrhon), As a result of which a fire started in the store and the ammunition detonated. The fire lasted for several hours.

Yesterday there was another such a tragic case. In Kabul, a group of children found a hand-grenade surreptiously placed by the extremists. The grenade exploded due to the unskilled handling, injuring five children. Innocent civilians—children, moreover—became victims. [end recording]

Reforms Conducive to Rapprochement With GATT

LD1008082589 Moscow TASS in English 1022 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 10 TASS—Soviet economic reforms and emphasis on integrating the Soviet economy into the world economy have created the prerequisites for a rapprochement between the USSR and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT], the Soviet journal "THE WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS" says in its latest issue.

Stressing that trade is a two-way street, it emphasises that if Western countries, which play a leading role in GATT, are really interested in Soviet participation in the world trading system, they should act to ease the Soviet Union's entry into the international organisation.

Of 100 major traders on the international market, only the USSR, the German Democratic Republic and Taiwan still do not have formal relations with GATT.

The journal argues that the Soviet Union has immeasurably more to win than to lose from GATT membership. It will expedite economic reform and enable a more consistent rejection of administer-by-command methods and promote greater openness in the Soviet economy as well as its closer integration into the world economy.

The more deeply the Soviet Union will be involved in international economic interaction, the stronger East-West economic ties will be.

Soviet participation in GATT will also make it possible to furnish an internationally recognised legal basis for competition among foreign firms on the Soviet market.

The Soviet Union is still wary of the obligations stemming from full GATT membership, the journal remarks, concluding that the only possible form of participation now is through observer status.

By tradition, the USSR now needs to secure the support of leading GATT members. But the United States, Japan and EEC countries (except Italy) continue to boycott any steps towards a GATT rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

The journal does not rule out the possibility of the USSR being compelled to break the tradition and file a formal request for observer status.

United States & Canada

Chervov Comments on U.S. 'Columbia' Mission

LD0908172589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 9 Aug (TASS)—As has already been reported, on 8 August the U.S. space shuttle "Columbia," with five astronauts aboard, was launched from Cape Canaveral space center. [passage omitted]

Yuriy Kornilov, TASS political observer, asked General Nikolay Chervov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate to comment upon this report.

In the talk which took place today in the USSR Ministry of Defense, U.S. congressmen from the Committee on Armed Services in actual fact confirmed the secrecy of the Pentagon's program, Nikolay Chervov said. The congressmen stated that although they did not know the concrete content of the given Pentagon program, (I will note in brackets, that that is hard to believe, since the Pentagon activity is subject to the scrutiny of this committee)—they are allowing Columbia to be used for reconnaisance of the Soviet Union's facilities. They immediately made the reservation that that is not the official point of view, but their personal opinion. It was said to them in reply that such actions do not further the sides' trust and mutual understanding.

The strict secrecy of the Columbia program suggests some thoughts and forces one to think that Washington, as before, is trying to regard space as one of the possible theaters of military actions, Nikolay Chervov continued. Meanwhile, particular attention is given to implementation of the space shuttle program, which has been subordinate to the interests of the Pentagon from the very outset. The United States plans to use the created shuttle craft for purposes of reconnaissance, for the inspection of space facilities, the testing of SDI components, of new weapon types and systems, and for other military purposes. These plans are being partially implemented already.

The impression is being created that certain U.S. military and political circles are trying by any means to spread the arms race into space, without considering the consequences of such actions for the peace and security of states.

The USSR, Nikolay Chervov continued, wants space to always remain clear and free of any weapons and does not want it to become an area of the arms race and a source of aggravation of relations between states.

One of the ways to accomplish this is to turn space into a sphere of expanding interstate peaceful cooperation, the benefits of which could be used by all peoples of the earth. The U.S.-USSR agreement on cooperation and the use of space for peaceful purposes (1987) furthers the creation of a judicial basis for such a procedure. The Soviet Union spoke out for the institution of the world space organization in 1985 and the urgent need for this organization has increased even more today. This organization is called upon to play a great role in the matter of the practical elaboration of a universal model of the international opening up of space.

The Soviet Union, Nikolay Chervov said in conclusion, favors using all existing possibilities, all the appropriate channels, both bilateral and multilateral, for holding serious negotiations and for attaining concrete agreements regarding the adoption of urgent measures to avert spreading the arms race into space. He calls upon the United States and other states to support this process, otherwise mankind will come up against a new threat, the scale of which is difficult to imagine.

Bush 'Determination' To Free Hostages Noted

LD1008093689 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Washington August 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatiyev:

U.S. President George Bush has spoken of his determination to use all U.S. diplomatic means to free American hostages in Lebanon.

Replying on Wednesday [9 August] to journalists' questions before an official meeting in the White House Oval Office, Bush said that "I feel the burden of going to every end possible to try to find—get the return of these Americans". Bush noted that he was not prepared to give a clearer indication of U.S. intentions.

Commenting on the President's words, a CBS TV anchorman said that the President sent new veiled signals to Iran. The TV company pointed out that Bush left the door open for possible defreezing of Iranian assets in American banks if the hostages are freed. Some experts were convinced, according to CBS, that the President implied that if Iran helps free the hostages, he would lift the ban on operations with Iranian assets. U.S. officials say that Bush wants Iran to know that he understands the difficulties facing Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani and intends to display as much patience as necessary.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said on Wednesday that the Middle East is the venue for numerous talks between various parties, representatives of various governments and individuals who have contacts in the region. There is intense behind-the-scenes diplomatic activity, and the American side cannot comment on it, he added. Fitzwater also confirmed that contacts were established between the United States and Iran through third countries, but he refused to elaborate on the ongoing discussions.

According to American press reports, Bush is personally engaged in these diplomatic efforts. The CBS company reports that the President continues his "telephone diplomacy". He was called by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir on Wednesday, for the first time since Israeli commandos abducted Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd, a Shi'ite Moslem leader, in Lebanon. Avi Pazner, the Israeli prime minister's press secretary, pointed out that during the conversation Shamir reiterated Tel Aviv's position that 'Ubayd would be released only in exchange for three Israeli soldiers who, it is generally believed, are kept prisoner in south Lebanon, as well as for "all hostages". Referring to Israeli officials, CBS in Tel Aviv reports that Shamir also suggested that Washington and Tel Aviv coordinate their stands more efficiently than they did since the start of the present crisis which deteriorated after 'Ubayd's abduction.

Bush also phoned Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and former president Ronald Reagan to inform them of the latest developments.

Bush Gives Interview on Hostage Issue

LD1008063489 Moscow TASS in English 0603 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] New York August 10 TASS—U.S. President George Bush has given an interview to the BOSTON GLOBE newspaper, which mostly dealt with the exacerbated situation in the Middle East.

"I have tried to keep from escalating matters by making a lot of loud threats. I have had to take certain prudent actions," he said.

While disclosing that he had discussed a number of American options with his aides in response to developments affecting the fate of American hostages, Bush declined to specify the measures.

It followed from his words that the White House pins some hopes on diplomatic steps. "I can talk to somebody and get the release of an American hostage and do it without, in my view and in the view of the experts, putting others at risk", he said.

Bush added that the Soviet Union's help with dealing with the hostage crisis wouldn't "hurt it any," but he admitted he didn't see the resolution of the problem "in a short run".

Although the threat to the lives of American hostages has grown since the Israeli abduction of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd, the U.S. President refused to comment on it, saying only that he was not going to permit anything that would "drive a wedge between Israel and the United States".

The "fundamental (U.S.-Israeli) strategic relationship will be kept fundamentally strong", he said.

Chervov Meeting With U.S. Congressmen Cited

LD0908214489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug (TASS)—"Accumulated experience shows that when the security interests of each side are taken into account, the United States and USSR have achieved good results in negotiations," stated Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Directorate, today at a meeting with U.S. congressmen. The delegation of the House of Representatives Armed Forces Committee, which is headed by its chairman, (Wisconsin congressman) Les Aspin, arrived in Moscow on Monday at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The Soviet Union is ready to continue acting in the same constructive spirit," noted the Soviet general. "At the same time, we see much that is positive in the policy of U.S. President Bush's administration, which is primarily expressed in an aspiration to forward new, compromise proposals. There are also negative aspects, which to a certain extent are holding back the development of dialogue, in particular the nuclear and space weapons talks."

The General Staff representatives and the U.S. congressmen, during a lively discussion, touched on specific military problems of mutual concern. Chervov drew the guests' attention to the need for a speedy solution on a number of priority matters: starting talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, reaching accord on mutual renunciation of nuclear tests, and strictly observing the ABM Treaty. Attention was paid to a discussion of questions of a conceptual nature, in particular, the problem of elaborating military doctrine and its influence on the formation of the military budget and the construction of the armed forces in both countries.

There were substantial differences in the standpoints of the two sides. The head of the U.S. delegation confirmed the adherence of the majority of the members of both houses of the U.S. Congress to the "narrow" interpretation of the ABM treaty. Speaking of the attitude of U.S. legislators to the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the U.S. Congress on questions of a moratorium on nuclear explosions and a halt to nuclear tests, Les Aspin noted that "in spite of a certain sympathy from some congressmen for the idea of stopping nuclear tests, on the whole their standpoint did not reflect the views of the majority in Congress."

Also today the U.S. congressmen visited the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy after which they left on a tour of the Soviet Union.

Northeast Asia

Moscow Sees No Change in Japan Under Kaifu

OW1008090089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] On 8 August, Mr Toshiki Kaifu, 58 years old, was elected president of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party [LDP]. On the following day, 9 August, he was nominated prime minister of the cabinet by a majority of LDP dietmen in the House of Representatives. In this connection, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev has the following:

It is natural that attention in Japan as well as abroad is now centered on the new leader's successful individual life and career. However, a rather general reason was an important factor that led to Mr Kaifu's election as party president, and consequently prime minister. First, since executives of the ruling LDP are involved in the Recruit scandal, there was only a limited number of candidates. Second, there was a demand for the LDP's rejuvenation. In other words, it was necessary to create a new image for the LDP that has been at the helm of state affairs for 34 consecutive years.

It is a task for the LDP to overcome the critical situation resulting from the political bribery scandal. There have also been political scandals in the past. However, the LDP never suffered such a serious election defeat as in the last elections. Even in the mid-1970's, the LDP did not suffer such a serious election defeat following the Lockheed scandal which also caused a government crisis.

Naturally, many Japanese are once again indignant over various cases exposing the close relations between politics and money. However, it seems there are more serious reasons behind the current situation. From a general viewpoint, several common factors can be pointed out:

There are discussions not only among Japan's opposition bloc but also within the ruling party concerning a possible shift to a two-party system, such as in Great Britain or the United States. In other words, it means that two more or less conservative parties will take turns assuming political power. Meanwhile, efforts have already been made to lay the foundation for a two-party system, unifying labor unions under Rengo [Japanese Private Sector Trade Union Confederation].

In the meantime, Rengo has not yet succeeded in eliminating conflicts among the three opposition parties, the Japanese Socialist Party, Komeito [Clean Government Party], and the Democratic Socialist Party. Political views differ greatly between the rightists and leftists in these three parties, not only in the struggle for political power but also in [word indistinct]. The differences are too great for them to act even as a simple force. There is no such political disharmony in the LDP.

Now that Japan has emerged as an economic leader and the people's living standards have improved, it is quite natural for the Japanese people to freely participate in politics. The people are indignant over the introduction of a 3-percent consumption tax, and this has led to dissatisfaction with economic policies. In other words, the growth rate of Japanese, or monopoly, enterprise wealth has far exceeded the growth rate of the people's living standards. This trend has been particularly outstanding in recent times. Since this wealth has been accumulated through the labor of the Japanese people themselves, it is quite natural for them to possess it themselves. As indicated by the models of advanced nations, such as the European nations and the United States, the people want to also be rich in social security. It seems that this time, many voters have indicated their expectations for finding something new in the policies of the opposition parties. Moreover, intensified confrontation with the United States, Japan's leading ally as well as partner, must have also played some role. The high-handed attitude taken by the United States toward Japan has irritated Japan's opposition bloc. However, the opposition parties have not been able to drastically change such a situation.

Speaking in the Diet, Mr Toshiki Kaifu stressed that Japan-U.S. relations have undergone qualitative changes. Thus, a warning has been issued to U.S. congressmen who have been carried away by emotions rather than by reason. It is noteworthy that Mr Kaifu has stated his intention to improve relations with the Soviet Union. Toshiki Kaifu, the new LDP president, has also stated that he will aim at promoting domestic political reforms and revising the 3-percent consumption tax. It will probably take some time for Mr Kaifu's domestic and foreign policies to take more concrete shape. However, the new president confronts far more complicated tasks than those faced by former Prime Minister Uno.

As was expected, former Prime Minister Uno was tasked with somehow tiding over the so-called state of disorder prior to the upper house elections. However, Mr Kaifu has been asked to carry out greater tasks. He must change the people's attitude toward the LDP before the next elections for the House of Representatives in which the LDP enjoys greater power and influence. It will take time for Mr Kaifu to show what he can do, but it can definitely be said even now that although Mr Kaifu has become the new prime minister, Japan will not be much different from the times when it was under his predecessors.

Japanese Cabinet Resigns, Kaifu To Be Premier

LD0908052489 Moscow TASS in English 0518 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Tokyo August 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksander Kopnov:

The Japanese Cabinet of Ministers headed by Sosuke Uno has existed for only 68 days. The cabinet resigned at a special meeting on Wednesday morning.

The resignation was prompted by a major defeat which the country's ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) sustained at the July 23 partial elections to the upper house of Japanese Parliament.

After it became clear that the LDP lost its upper house majority for the first time since the party was founded, Sosuke Uno, LDP chairman and accordingly the head of government, had to claim responsibility for the setback and to announce an intention to step down.

As a result, the ruling party began to look for a new leader for the second time over the past three months. The previous Japanese prime minister Noboru Takeshita had resigned at the beginning of June this year owing to involvement in the Recruit Company financial scandal which later on became one of the causes of LDP's defeat in the upper house elections.

Toshiki Kaifu, 58, who on Tuesday was elected the 14th LDP chairman, is today expected to become a new Japanese prime minister.

In the afternoon on Wednesday he will begin to form a new Cabinet.

Magazine Article on Ties With Japan Reported

OW0808133089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] The Soviet weekly magazine NOVOYE VREMYA, in its 35th edition, carried commentator (Alcksey Rogatsnov's) article entitled "Foreign Policy Pressed for Option," in connection with urgent issues, including the conclusion of a peace treaty, in Soviet-Japan relations.

The commentator in his article raised the following questions: Why is there no willingness in the Soviet Union and Japan to completely normalize their relations? Why is normalization so badly needed? The commentator also expressed the following views on various issues pending between the two countries. The failure to conclude a peace treaty and establish genuine goodneighborly relations with Japan have become one of weak points in Soviet Far East policy. For this reason, the Soviet Government has been making efforts to get out of this abyss, but with no hopeful results, and this has resulted from the issue of the southern islands of the Kuriles. The Japanese Government has no intention of making serious efforts for active exchanges with the Soviet Union, and there is no need to conceal this intention unless the territorial issue is resolved by returning the islands to Japan. The principle of not changing border lines drawn in the end of World War II has been the basic stance in the Soviet foreign policy toward Japan. In this respect, however, some relaxation of this stance is possible, because rigid views of border immobility are slowly changing in the wake of progress in making the world free of violence. The foreign policies of all civilized nations are aimed at resolving issues with all nations concerned through peaceful means commensurate with the present level of world civilization with the interests of the whole international society in mind. Civilized mankind has just taken the first step in the aspect of technological policy aimed at resolving each political issue. Nevertheless, Japan and the Soviet Union have failed to produce tangible results in resolving their bilateral issues.

There has been no positive progress in the economic field between the two countries. Even large-scale projects, which have been implemented by the two countries, have promoted little economic development in the Soviet Far East and failed to meet expectations for them. The Japanese side is not wholly responsible for it. This failure rather lies with weak development foundation on the part of the Soviet side. The recent active economic relations with China and prospects for working exchanges with South Korea have come to play greater roles. Needless to say, the Soviet Union has not gained so much benefit from economic cooperation with these nations compared with benefits gained from economic cooperation with Japan. However, unlike Japanese industries, Chinese and South Korean industries have made no requests and they are willing to cooperate with us in various fields. The question is not how to sell goods to one's partners, but how to utilize effectively what is obtained. The Soviet Union has been continuing difficult dialogue with Japan from the standpoint of pursuing a long-term interest by promoting healthy international situation and level of trust among Asian and Pacific nations. The [word indistinct] basic issues in Soviet-Japan relations, which the Japanese side is believed to propose soon is not likely to be accepted by the Soviet side. However, it is necessary to take steps to advance future relations between the two nations. It is also important to make efforts to lay political and economic foundations which will make it possible to strengthen and expand exchanges between the two nations at all levels. This will be possible if the two nations can eradicate their distrust and feelings of alienation toward the other nation.

At present, Japan is not likely to propose any compromise to resolve the issue of normalizing bilateral relations. Under this situation, it may be appropriate to look for the Soviet initiative aimed at exploring compromise. However, this compromise will be only a compromise, not unconditional concessions for which the Japanese Government has long waited. Although the way to coordinate differences between the Soviet Union and Japan reminds one of many impossible things, there is no doubt that persistent and concessional efforts of the two nations will lead to resolving the issues pending between them.

Biryukov Disputes U.S. 'Gossip' on Kuriles

LD0908155689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0943 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug (TASS)—TASS political observer Askold Biryukov writes:

People in the USSR and in Japan note with satisfaction the stepping up of the Soviet-Japanese political dialogue, the general improvement in the atmosphere of bilateral relations and the invigoration of ties and contacts at various levels and in various fields of cooperation. An official visit to Japan by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is on the political agenda of Soviet-Japanese relations. Both sides have recently come out in favor of stepping up preparatory work for this visit, which could take place in the context of the general improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations.

These positive trends in relations between the two countries, it appears, are not to everyone's liking. Occasionally there appears someone who wants to put a spoke into the wheel of the process of improvement and development of our relations. A typical example of this is the publication in the "Washington gossip" section carried in the 14 August issue of the magazine U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT. This asserts, absolutely seriously, that the Soviet leader has allegedly sent a "secret message" to Tokyo, in which he supposedly states Moscow's desire to do a deal: to return the Kurile Islands, "which were seized by the USSR following World War II, to Japanese control." It goes on to assert that in exchange Moscow is asking Tokyo to draw up a long-term plan of annual capital investments worth thousands of millions in order to help restructure the "stranded Soviet economy."

The publication carried not a word about when and by whom this message was passed to the Japanese Government. This is understandable. Although the leaders of our states do exchange messages, a message like the one the U.S. magazine talks about did not exist, nor, quite simply, could it exist. This was confirmed by a high-ranking spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry, who said that the article in the magazine had no foundation whatsoever.

What is clear from the "Washington gossip" is somebody's desire to play on the unfounded territorial claims against the USSR advanced in Tokyo, to try to substitute the so-called "territorial problem" for the current problem of concluding a peace treaty, to hold the whole package of developing Soviet-Japanese relations hostage to it.

It is an attempt being made using clearly unfit means. That the Kurile Islands belong to the USSR is confirmed by a whole range of international legal acts adopted during World War II and after it ended, a fact people in the United States cannot fail to know. Putting forward time and again unfounded territorial claims against the USSR can only creat a serious impediment to the invigoration of Soviet-Japanese relations, which invigoration would have a positive effect on the entire situation in the Asian and Pacific region.

Is this not the goal being pursued by the authors of the falsehood published in U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT?

Perfilyev Denies Report on Kuriles Secret Message

OW1008051789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] A news conference for Soviet and foreign reporters was held at the press center of the Soviet Foreign Ministry on 9 August. At the news conference, Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Administration, denied a report published in the U.S. magazine U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT on a secret message from the Soviet leadership to the Japanese government.

According to the report, the secret message said that in return for Japan's large-scale aid in modernizing the Soviet economy, the Soviet Union would be ready to return the four islands located in the southern part of the Kurile Islands which Japan had been demanding.

Mr Perfilyev stressed that such a message did not and could not exist, and said that the rumor regarding such a message was utterly groundless. Moreover, Mr Perfilyev said that the USSR's position on the question concerning the title to the southern Kurile Islands is well known and that the Soviet Union has not changed its position.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Improvement in SRV-PRC Relations Welcomed

BK1008055489 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] According to Paris sources, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach met Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister Liu Shuqing in Paris on 7 August. At the meeting, which took place at the Chinese Embassy in France, emphasis was placed on the Cambodian issue. Our station observer has this to say:

Reports carried by various news agencies on the Vietnamese-Chinese meeting in Paris no longer have a character of suspense.

I would like to recall this event because a Western journalist described an earlier meeting held at the beginning of this year between the two countries' diplomats as giving the impression of [words indistinct]. Here, I am referring to the first consultative meeting between Vietnam and China at the vice foreign ministerial level. Mass media at that time described this meeting as an important event of the eighties because it marked the beginning of a turning point in Vietnamese-Chinese relations, which have, for many years now, taken place in a tense and even hostile fashion.

But the situation has changed. Things that were once regarded as unusual have become normal again. This is a sign of the fine changes now taking place throughout the world.

I think the fact that consultative meetings between Vietnam and China have become normal events in international relations is very important. It testifies to the fact that the process of normalizing relations between the two countries has gradually developed strength. Naturally, I do not rule out difficulties along this path as basic disagreements remain between Hanoi and Beijing. However, it is good news that direct dialogue has begun at the governmental level and that this has led to a broadening of mutual understanding.

What is most important is that the initial cause for the serious disagreements in the relations between Hanoi and Beijing, which occurred in 1979, is disappearing. I would like to recall that this occurred when Vietnamese troops were sent to Cambodia to help the Khmer people defend their country against the Pol Pot clique's bloody massacre. Now this source of concern for China has almost been solved. Vietnamese troops will be totally withdrawn from Cambodia by 27 September. As is already known, this move has been welcomed by China.

Thus, the situation is now very favorable for fully restoring friendly neighborly relations between Vietnam and China.

ASEAN Reaction to Singapore Base Host Offer

HK1008032589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Commentary by Aleksander Vladimirov]

[Text] We still do not know precisely whether the United States is interested in our proposal, and we have still not spelled out to them what we are prepared to do. This was the remark made by George Yeo, [minister of state for foreign affairs and finance], when he announced that Singapore is prepared to accept the United States' military facilities. However, it is known that talks between the U.S. and Singapore on the possibility of using Singapore's territory for the Pentagon's naval and air force units have been going on in the past few months, and both sides have reached an agreement in principle. These talks are related to issues involving the American military facilities in the Philippines.

The treaty governing the bases in the Philippines expires in 1991. Will it be extended? President Corazon Aquino does not wish to reveal her hand, and she has said that Filipinos should have the freedom to choose on the matter. The position taken by the United States is more than clear. In July, during the meeting of the ASEAN foreign ministers, American Secretary of State James Baker said that the United States has a duty to maintain its forces in the region. This apparently did not take into consideration the Manila negotiations covering Clark Field and Subic Bay. Experience has shown that as talks between Washington and Manila draw close, maneuvers dealing with the problem increase. As various concessions are made, opposition to the bases will undoubtedly increase.

In the Philippines as well as in the ASEAN countries, there are those who are for, and against the retention of the Pentagon's power in Southeast Asia, and both sides have the right to air their arguments. However, during the period of negotiations, reports are often disseminated which do not give a true picture of the results of ASEAN sessions dealing with Southeast Asian security. The Singapore foreign minister, in his speech to parliament last week, declared that the members of ASEAN support the idea of allowing the bases to remain as a guarantee for peace, stability, and the wellbeing of the region. However, some documents resulting from the latest ASEAN meeting reveal that consensus has not been reached on the issue.

In 1987, in Manila, the six ASEAN leaders issued a declaration expressing hopes for a better future based not on maintaining a balance of power but on the concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. This involves the reduction and removal of military forces from the region to turn it into a nuclear-free zone. Recently, a top Indonesian official declared his country's opposition to the stationing of any military forces in their territory—one more confirmation of the fact that the retention of the American military bases in Southeast Asia is not a popular one in the ASEAN countries. [Break in transmission]

Ahmad Kamil Jaafar, [Malaysian secretary general of the Foreign Ministry], declared that Malaysia is opposed to the notion of stationing American military bases in Singapore. The plan between the U.S. and Singapore, according to the Malaysian diplomat, could upset the political stability of the region which will vitiate international detente and the impending peaceful solution to the Cambodian problem. Furthermore, the Malaysian official said this would also go against the ASEAN desire to make Southeast Asia a zone of peace.

Near East & South Asia

Katushev Ends Talks With Libya's Jallud

LD0908163789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1536 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Tripoli, 9 Aug (TASS)—Soviet-Libyan talks on questions of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah ended here today. On the Soviet side, a government delegation led by Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, took part in them. The sides expressed a mutual desire to continue developing their cooperation on the basis of the principles of equality of rights and mutual advantage.

The head of the Soviet delegation was received today by 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, member of the revolutionary leadership of the Libyan Jamahiriyah. On the instructions of Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, Jallud delivered a message from M.S. Gorbachev addressed to the leader of the Libyan revolution. In the course of the conversation, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the exchange of views on questions of Soviet-Libyan relations, which had been started at the talks, was continued. Jallud confirmed the Libyan Jamahiriyah's interest in developing all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and stressed that this interest stemmed from Libya's principled position with regard to the USSR and other socialist countries, a position adopted after the 1 September 1969 revolution and which remains unvarying.

On behalf of the Libyan leadership, Jallud expressed wishes for success to the leadership of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet people in performing the tasks of restructuring the political system and economic mechanism, which is of enormous significance for other countries, including Libya. He placed a high value on the USSR's foreign policy steps and the Soviet people's struggle for peace and the relaxation of international tensions.

Bessmertnykh Cited on Lebanese 'Crisis'

LD0908124989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0653 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug (TASS)—"The origins of the Lebanese crisis lie in the tight knot of political, religious, and economic passions which are primarily ripping Lebanon itself apart from within," Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, writes in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI today. Lebanon, he notes, has become an arena for Syrian-Israeli and Palestinian-Israeli confrontation. There is a direct link here with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Every outbreak of tension in and around Lebanon—as is happening at the moment—destabilizes the situation in the region as a whole, which is fraught with the breakdown of the prospects for peace that have emerged in the Near East. Here too, obviously, the main blame lies with Israel's policy, flouting Lebanon's sovereignty by having created here and controlling the "security zone." The Lebanese knot is also further confused by contradictions between Arabs, which are often transferred on to Lebanese territory.

The Soviet diplomat stresses that there is no military solution to the Lebanese crisis. "What is needed is dialogue, finding the balance of interests of the sides as the basis for restoring national accord," he writes. "But to strike up a dialogue, it is necessary to create a favorable atmosphere, which requires an immediate cease-fire." It goes without saying that the external causes of the crisis should also be removed. First and foremost, the Israeli occupation should be brought to an end.

International assistance for a Lebanese settlement is acquiring special significance, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh notes, calling for the mobilization of support for the Arabs' peace making mission. He recalls that the Soviet Union maintains contacts with the various sides, both Lebanese and non-Lebanese.

The Soviet Union also maintains a discussion with the leaders of the governments that have formed in the Christian and Muslim zones, that is with General M. 'Awn, and S. al-Huss. The main aim of the discussion is to help the Lebanese restore peace and unity. These contacts, of course, do not signify recognition of the division of Lebanon. The USSR is against this.

Recent talks in Baghdad and Damascus with the leaders of Iraq and Syria supporting the Lebanese forces on different sides of the barricades are essentially devoted to the same task, the deputy minister notes.

Najibullah Interviewed on Period Since Withdrawal

LD1008092289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0753 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul, 10 Aug (TASS)—Almost 6 months have passed since the last Soviet soldier left Afghan soil. This time has become a period of difficult trials for our army and the country's armed forces as a whole, President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah, supreme commander in chief of the Afghan Armed Forces, stated in an interview with TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov. However, they passed the test of endurance with honor, as evidenced by the events in the provinces of Nagarhar, Qandahar, Zabol, the Khost district and a number of other regions in the republic.

The Afghan Armed Forces, Najibullah stresed, have accumulated a wealth of experience in armed combat over 10 years, considerably improving their fighting might and training. Being in a situation of complete readiness for action, they repel the sudden attacks by the formations of the irreconcilable opposition which is supported from without, and are already independently defending the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of the country. The Afghan Army has the latest materiel and weapons. Naturally for this we are grateful to the Soviet Union, which is a sincere and true friend of Afghanistan and has not left its neighbor in the lurch at a difficult moment in its history. We are grateful to it both for the past and for the future.

The high combat capability of our armed forces, continued the Afghan leader, is explained by the fact that today they represent a force defending peace and the security of compatriots and are the implementor of the policy of national reconciliation. Of course the main thing is that they express the will of all of the Afghan people, who, in their turn, give the armed forces all-around support. This shows that hardly anybody will succeed in forcing us to swerve from the one and only correct path, the course for reestablishing universal peace in Afghanistan.

Certain forces in various countries of the world, including in the United States, would like to create in Afghanistan a situation similar to the Lebanese one, making the Afghan conflict drag on. Pakistan and the United States have not only not fulfilled the obligations taken on within the framework of the Geneva agreements, but have also virtually crushed them, having castrated the content of authoritative international documents.

The scale of armed aggression and foreign interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state is expanding, but this road is fully without prospects. It leads to an impasse. The only realistic way out of the bloodshed which has dragged on for many years is the resolving by the Afghans themselves of all vexing questions by means of talks and the creation of a coalition government on the broadest basis, Najibullah stressed in conclusion.

Kornilov Denies Soldiers' Presence in Jalalabad

LD0908194189 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—By TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov:

A number of Pakistani mass media organs are circulating another anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet invention. Quoting some "information sources" of the irreconcilable opposition, Pakistani newspapers wrote about the arrival in Jalalabad of Soviet instructors and soldiers. In order to make this invention sound more plausible, they even give details: Soviet soldiers are allegedly dressed in Afghan folk costumes and speak the local language. One can get the impression that authors of these reports personally saw those "Soviet soldiers." Of course, nothing of the kind could actually happen. "Reports of the Pakistani press on the arrival of some 'Soviet servicemen' to Jalalabad are an invention from begining to end," the Soviet Defence Ministry told TASS.

It is worth recalling in this connection that it is not the first invention circulated recently in Islamabad. Several days ago some Pakistani newspapers published reports that 1,500 Soviet servicemen had arrived in Kabul. They obviously got the information from the same dubious sources. The reports were immediately refuted by the Soviet press and a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman. The invention about Soviet servicemen in Afghanistan seemed to be a short-lived one. Howver, as soon as the first invention was refuted, the next one appeared.

The question emerges: What is the purpose of these inventions? The answer is obvious: These unseemly propaganda tricks are an attempt to explain the failure of [words indistinct] of the armed opposition to further its aims by military means. They are intended to distract the attention of the public from the actions of those Pakistani circles which continue to violate the Geneva Accords and pursue a policy of open and gross interference in the affairs of the neighbouring sovereign country. The authors of propaganda inventions from Islamabad are putting much energy into their misinformation efforts. However, inventions cannot turn into the truth no matter how often they are repeated.

Reportage on Afghan Official's Visit to USSR

Official's Moscow News Conference

LD0808144889 Moscow World Service in English 0610 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] A news conference has been held in Mosocw involving a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Najmuddin Kawiani, who analyzed the situation in Afghanistan following the withdrawal of Soviet troops 6 months ago.

Najmuddin Kawiani said the armed opposition, supported by the United States and Pakistan, have been making desperate attempts to overthrow the local government in Kabul. It is continuing to shell cities, villages, and civilian objects, resulting in the deaths of innocent people. Najmuddin Kawiani described the situation in the country as tense. The past 6 months have shown the Kabul government is capable of holding its positions without the support of Soviet troops. More than that, these positions have strengthened. On the other hand, the armed opposition has failed to reach its goals. Its slogans have lost their appeal, its ranks have been plagued by a deep split. The current situation confirms once more that the Afghan issue can be resolved only through political and not military means, said Najmuddin Kawiani. He reported that only 15 percent of the opposition troops continued combat action. Field commanders, together with their troops, had been coming over to the side of the people's government.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Kabul government are again calling for ceasing fire, for holding direct talks and carrying out democratic elections on a broad basis. Najmuddin Kawiani pointed out that after a cease-fire agreement each area could be left under the control of the force currently dominant there.

On the issue of the external aspect of a settlement, he said this: Afghanistan calls for an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and involving the Soviet Union, the United States, and some other countries. The conference must ensure Afghanistan's neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It could also discuss the issue of the country's demilitarization and securing democratic freedoms and human rights. Najmuddin Kawiani criticized the United States and Pakistan for violating the Geneva accords, supplying weapons to the armed opposition and interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He pointed out the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan remained an influential political force in the country with 10 years of experience in governing the country. He said it would be impossible to achieve a settlement in Afghanistan without the party.

Tajikistan Secretary Meets Official

LD1008084689 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 2320 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting was held yesterday in the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee between Najmuddin Kawiani, member of the Politburo and secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, and heads of a number of ministries, departments, and creative unions, and Tajik scholars and journalists.

At the meeting Kawiani spoke on the situation in his country since the withdrwal of Soviet forces, observation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the struggle by the Afghan people against the irreconcilable opposition supported by Pakistan and the United States, and the vital importance of the policy of national reconciliation.

Political settlement is the only way to solve the Afghan problem, he said. That is to cease the fratricidal war and establish a broadbased coalition government on the basis of democracy which would (?protect) the interests of all stratam of the Afghan population and the neighboring states.

Najmuddin Kawiani highly assessed the role played by the Soviet Union in seeking ways of restoring peace and tranquility in Afghanistan and touched upon the relations between Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Also present at the meeting was Dadabayev, secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee.

USSR, Afghan Officials Confer on UN Session

PM0908151789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, has received Nur Ahmad Nur, Afghan permanent representative to the United Nations.

During the conversation they discussed a broad range of questions linked with preparations for the 44th UN General Assembly session and joint USSR and Afghan actions for the earliest possible all-embracing Afghan settlement.

Visit to Army Position Outside Kabul Described

PM0908103989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondent M. Yusin dispatch: "Afghanistan: At 8th Infantry Positions"]

[Text] Kabul—A trip to the government troops' defensive positions on the approaches to the Afghan capital was organized for Soviet journalists on precisely the day when a mass offensive by opposition forces was to have begun on Kabul—1 August—according to the mujahidin's assurances and the predictions of Western agencies and radio stations.

"Can you see that white building? That's approximately where our front line is. The area under rebel control is further on, where the mountains begin," Major General Anwar, chief of the Afghan Army General Staff, pointed to the endless mountain range. "The mountains seem quite close, although they are in fact 1.5 km away."

"So the mujahidin's positions are there, at the foot of those mountains."

"They don't have positions as such, the rebels hide in the mountains and show themselves from time to time in order to aim their missiles or fire a machinegun burst, then they disappear again. It is very hard to determine where they are based on this moment. But if reconnaissance scouts succeed in establishing an area in which major enemy forces are gathered, we will deliver an artillery strike against them," the general gestured to several guns immobile 100 meters away from us, as if to back up what he had said.

The conversation took place at the 8th Infantry Division command post. It is one of the key points in Kabul's defenses, located approximately 15 km to the north of the capital. Maj Gen Anwar came here to directly familiarize himself with the situation on the front line. From the confidence with which he found his way around the area and handled the figures, names, and dates, it is clear that the general is a frequent visitor to the 8th Division positions.

"You have just been told the up-to-the-minute situation. Has there been serious fighting in the last few days in this division's area?" I asked Gen Anwar.

"No, there has been no sign of particular enemy activity," Anwar uttered this sentence to the accompaniment of a machinegun burst, while his last words were accompanied by the explosion of two howitzer shells, which landed somewhere nearby.

"Do you think the promised assault will begin?"

"I'm not sure. The rebels are well aware that Kabul is a tough nut and attacking it may cost them too dearly. I do not rule out the possibility of the bombardments becoming more frequent and of individual attacks and offensives against frontline posts. But they will hardly decide to conduct an assault. Especially from this direction."

I understood earlier from conversations with military experts that Kabul's northern line of defense, where Afghan Army units hold their positions, is considered the safest and does not arouse great concern in the Afghan Command. Troops from the Ministry of State Security, which defend the southwest approach roads to the capital, are also notable for their supreme combat readiness. The southeast sector may prove a more vulnerable link in Kabul's defenses in the event of a serious offensive. It is from the southeast that the mujahidin deliver most of their missile strikes on Kabul. The command has recently taken emergency measures to strengthen the defenses in this area. But one still cannot be fully at ease about the state of affairs in the southeast sector.

"Who is in command of the opposition forces in your area?" I asked Colonel Amanullah.

"Anwar Dangar. He is from the 'Islamic Society of Afghanistan' but all units operating in our area are under his jurisdiction."

"Surely the fratricidal killing, which has worsened recently, has made an impact on mujahidin unity?"

"Of course. There are two villages about 30 km from here. There, according to our reconnaissance data, fierce fighting is under way between 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan' and 'Islamic Society of Afghanistan' detachments. But this settling of scores only occurs in the rear. When the rebels move to frontline positions, the disagreements are forgotten and they see a common enemy ahead of them..."

The colonel fell silent, noticing a gesture from Gen Anwar, inviting the journalists to get into the automobile. Our excursion to the front line was drawing to a close.

Before getting into the automobile, I cast a farewell glance at the command post housing the defenders of the capital. The officers standing to attention did Gen Anwar credit.

Hostage Crisis Developments Reviewed

PM0908160989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Review compiled by B. Ivanov: "The Talks Will Be Long and Hard"]

[Text] The situation around the U.S. hostages held by Muslim extremist organizations in Lebanon remains complex and confusing. The flow of contradictory reports coming in from the Near East testifies that the settlement of the crisis promises to be long and hard. Out of all the events of the last 24 hours directly or indirectly affecting the problem of the hostages, attention is primarily drawn to the further polarization of political forces in Iran which has been caused by the present crisis. The country's Minister of the Interior 'Ali Akbar Montashemi, addressing a rally at Ayatollah Khomeyni's grave, called for a broad "offensive against America." He also sent a message to the "Hizballah" Organization in which he accused the United States of cooperating with Israel in the abduction of Shaykh 'A. 'Ubayd and blamed it for creating an explosive situation in the region. According to REUTER, his "radical statements" are in sharp contrast with the "moderate and conciliatory" words of Iran's President Hashemi-Rafsanjani, who recently offered to cooperate with Washington in the question of freeing the hostages.

In the light of these statements by Montashemi, there is special interest in a report by the U.S. NBC-TV. In a news program transmitted on Monday, the television company reported that Tehran had supposedly offered to organize the release of West European hostages in Lebanon provided U.S. President G. Bush unfreezes Iran's deposits held by U.S. banks. The report on this topic indicated that the Iranian message was conveyed to the White House through some intermediaries without specifying when this actually happened. According to the television company, however, Bush categorically ruled out any likelihood of immediately unfreezing Iranian assets. According to REUTER, about $4 billion belonging to Iran were frozen in U.S. banks when the staff of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran were taken hostage by Iranians in December 1979.

The agency's Washington correspondent Laurence McQuillan, quoting an unidentified administration spokesman, writes that Iran has indeed sent similar messages to the White House repeatedly in the past. As a rule, however, they were all couched in vague terms and did not contain any specific offers of help in releasing the hostages. Now, the administration staffer added, "there is no specific offer on this account by the Iranians on the President's desk."

It was also on Monday that Washington announced officially for the first time that the body of the man shown in a photograph sent to the press by the Muslim extremist grouping which claimed responsibility for the execution of U.S. Marine Lieutenant Colonel W. Higgins may indeed be that of the U.S. citizen. At the same time, a special statement issued on this matter by the FBI, which carried out a forensic study of the photograph in question, gives no indication of either the time or the cause of death. This fact, observers assume, only goes to support the widely circulating story that Higgins might have been killed much earlier than claimed by the extremists and that they only used his name in pursuit of their own political goals.

Among the numerous statements on the further development of events around the problem of the hostages, attention focuses on one by UN Deputy Secretary General Marrack Goulding. Before leaving Beirut, where he met with leaders of various Muslim organizations, Goulding said that the achievement of a settlement of the crisis would require lengthy "quiet and painstaking diplomatic efforts."

Israeli Foreign Minister M. Arens also warned against any hopes for an early way out of the prevailing deadlock. In his words, "the talks on the hostages promise to be lengthy and complex." He also declared that even if a single Israeli serviceman (of the three held as hostages by Muslim groupings) were to be executed, any talks would be out of the question.

On the whole, when analyzing the prevailing situation, Western observers suggest that all sides involved in the present crisis should stock up on patience since, even if any emerging hopes were to materialize into specific results, this would not happen soon. London's THE GUARDIAN, quoting Algerian diplomats, remarks in this context that "a glimmer of light would appear at the end of the tunnel if only the United States were to use dialogue instead of threats." Britain's THE TIMES also writes about the Americans' attitude toward the prospect of "long and hard bargaining." In its words, the majority of U.S. citizens would prefer a lengthy but peaceful solution of the crisis. "Judging by everything," the newspaper writes, "the Americans reluctantly admit that their country's options are limited, and therefore they prefer the Bush administration's restraint to the bombastic but often hollow warnings like 'You may run but you cannot hide from us,' which President Reagan addressed to terrorists."

Iranian Stand on Hostage Issue Praised

NC0908120689 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, recently the first ray of hope for a resolution of the crisis surrounding the American and other Western hostages in Lebanon can be seen. An analysis of recent remarks by Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani on Iran's readiness to assist in the release of the hostages creates the grounds for such hope. Our commentator Yuriy Andreyev comments on Tehran's role in resolving the critical situation in Lebanon, and writes:

The abduction of Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd, one of the leaders of Hizballah, the organization of the Shi'ite movement, by Israeli guerrillas has destabilized Lebanon's political situation and led to an intense international crisis. A Lebanese group called the Oppressed on Earth organiztion informed the world of the execution of American hostage Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins in retaliation for this terrorist act. Another Shi'ite group calling itself the Revolutionary Justice Organization has threatened to execute two more hostages, clergyman Terry Waite and American teacher Joseph Cicippio, if Israel does not release Shaykh 'Abd-al- Karim 'Ubayd. As a result, military confrontations in Lebanon have intensified. Clashes between Muslims and Christians are taking place along the entire green line that divides Beirut and have spread to Lebanon's southern and mountain regions and to the al-Biqa' Valley and the north of the country. During the past 24 hours alone, more than 80 people were killed or wounded in clashes.

Meanwhile, the United States of America has concentrated several of its ships in the Mediterranean and is trying to make the positions of Lebanon's Shi'ite groups accessible to its Navy. Currently 25 warships form the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, according to reports in the U.S. press, the White House is studying the possibility of a series of military operations, specifically air strikes, against the positions of Lebanese Muslim groups.

Under these complicated conditions, the Iranian Government is displaying self-control and political flexibility. Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani has stated that the Islamic Republic of Iran is not connected in any way with the murder of the hostages. He expressed deep regret over the execution of U.S. Lt Col William Higgins, and described it as a useless, obdurate, and pitiless act. The Iranian president condemned any type of terrorist act and spoke in favor of immediate measures to prevent the further exacerbation of the situation in Lebanon.

Reports received indicate that 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani has sent a special envoy to Beirut to try to defuse the situation. Moreover, the CANADIAN PRESS news agency has reported that a reliable and informed Beirut Shi'ite source has alleged that the final decision on the fate of U.S. hostage Joseph Cicippio lies with the U.S. President. This person stated that on his first day in office, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani was forced to exert pressure on Cicippio's abductors to save the hostage's life.

In his remarks during Friday prayers at Tehran University, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani stated that the problem of the release of the foreign hostages in Lebanon and the Lebanese problem should be solved through talks and not through force. He stated that if the White House adopts a logical stand, Iran will help solve this problem so that the people of the region can live in an atmosphere of peace and friendship. Hashemi-Rafsanjani stressed that he was stating these views in his capacity as president.

It is not yet clear what form Iranian assistance in solving the problem could take. However, the very fact that Tehran is participating in the search for a solution is undoubtedly a positive element.

At the same time, we should emphasize that according to the remarks by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, this assistance will be extended only if the United States pressures Israel to release Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd.

It is not impossible that Tehran will play the role of mediator in the talks concerning the release of the hostages. REUTER reported an exchange of 21 Western hostages for 400 Shiite Muslims, including Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd, who are in Israeli prisons, is possible. Such exchanges have taken place in the past; in May 1985, Tel Aviv exchanged 150 Palestinians for 3 Israeli soldiers who had been taken captive in Lebanon.

Many observers believe that a unique opportunity has arisen for Iran to influence dramatically the process relating to the hostages. Tehran has established close contacts with Hizballah and the other Islamic groups on whom the fate of the hostages largely depends. Last year, the Revolutionary Justice Organization which has now threatened to kill Cicippio released French hostages after mediation by Iran.

Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani has stated that the solution of the hostage issue should be based on wisdom. One can only agree with such a constructive stand.

Yemen Central Committee Member Visits Moscow

EA0908133089 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic
1900 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] In Moscow today, Brother Dr Abdullah al-Khamiri, member of the Central Committee and chairman of the Yemeni Council for Peace and Solidarity and Friendship With the People, met Comrade (Igor Tselin), secretary of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, with whom he discused relations between the Yemeni Council and the Soviet Committee, and international efforts being made to render the Indian Ocean, Arabian Gulf, and the Red Sea a zone of peace and security. Also discussed was the initiative of the council and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization to convene an international seminar next year about peace, security, and cooperation in the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and Arabian Gulf.

International developments of common interest were also discussed during the meeting. Brother Dr Abdullah al-Khamiri also met Comrade (Kafir Yakhonko) the first deputy to the chairman of the Soviet Society of UN Supporters, with whom he held an exchange of views on the activities of the United Nations and preparations to form a Yemeni society in support of the United Nations.

Sub-Saharan Africa

'New Era' Seen in Ethiopia-U.S. Ties

LD1008015789 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa
1800 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] As reported, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Herman Cohen, has concluded his tour of a number of African countries. Vladimir Borisov comments in this connection:

Observers are unanimous that the main stop in Cohen's journey was Addis Ababa. In a sense, his meeting with Mengistu Haile Mariam can be seen as bringing to an end the preliminary stage in a new era in Ethiopian-U.S. relations, which many people see as having begun with the unusually warm congratulations telegram sent by the Ethiopian leader to George Bush upon his election to President of the United States. This was followed by the proposal to replace the charges d'affaires with plenipotentiary ambassadors.

Now, commenting on Cohen's visit to Ethiopia, many Western news agencies say that is is Washington that is giving the signal that the time has come for the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between the United States and Ethiopia. They forget that such a proposal was made in March of this year by Addis Ababa, at which time, instead of responding to it, Washington demanded that Ethiopia must first of all resolve the problem of Eritrea. And Herman Cohen was sent to discuss the respective details.

There would hardly be any point in laying such stress on who was the first to voice the desire for an improvement in relations and who was the procrastinator, but for a consideration of general relevance: For some months U.S. diplomacy has adopted the stance of an impartial observer on a whole series of African problems, confining itself to abundant utterances concerning the need to observe human rights. But as soon as the adoption of major decisions seems imminent, Washington's emissaries become uncommonly active.

The fact that Herman Cohen's East African tour was fitted between the OAU [Organization of African Unity] summit and the nonaligned heads of state forum scheduled for September, was no mere coincidence. Such international meetings deal not just with general politics, but also specifically with U.S. aid. In this context, it is interesting that the assistant secretary of state should have visited Sudan, where he arrived from Addis Ababa to announce the continuation of U.S. aid to the population of southern Sudan and U.S. support for the stance of the new Sudanese leadership on attaining a peaceful solution to the internal conflict. Cohen stressed that the United States was aware of the previous regime's incompetence in resolving the country's crucial problems. In my opinion, our commentator continues, such a statement by the representative of a country which had such warm relations with all the Sudanese leaders was made for propaganda purposes.

Be that as it may, many observers regard Herman Cohen's tour as an auspicious sign because, they say, all sides gained from it. This refers in particular to U.S.-Ethiopian relations. I believe it is no exaggeration to say that their normalization is yet another consequence of the general relaxation of the international climate. It is an open secret that the explosive situation in the Horn of Africa was long fostered by mutually exclusive East versus West and United States versus USSR stances.

There is every indication that the policy of doing away with confrontation and seeking compromise in mutually acceptable solutions to international conflicts, launched by the Soviet leadership led by Mikhail Gorbachev, is being understood also in the United States.

Last year, at a meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and former U.S. secretary of state George Shultz, the question was raised for the first time of the need to contribute to the resolution of the Eritrean conflict. At that time, the main obstacle was the issue of the said province's status, for the United States supported the Eritrean extremists' separatist demands. But the step was taken, and at his (?6 August) meeting with President Mengistu Haile Mariam, Herman Cohen said that the United States supports Ethiopia's territorial unity and integrity and welcomes the Ethiopian Government's initiative aimed at the resolution of the internal conflict by peaceful means. It only remains to add that the Soviet Union has an identical stance.

CPSU Delegation Leaves Mozambique

PM0908150789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Return Home"]

[Text] Maputo, 3 Aug—The CPSU delegation headed by V.P. Sobolev, second secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, which was taking part in the work of the fifth Mozambique Liberation Front [FRELIMO] Party Congress left the Mozambican capital for home Wednesday.

The day before the head of the delegation was received by Marcelino dos Santos, member of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the People's Republic of Mozambique People's Assembly. He spoke highly of the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and Soviet state and the course of perestroyka and democratization in the USSR and expressed confidence in the further development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Mozambique peoples.

On 3 August the CPSU delegation headed by V.P. Sobolev, second secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, which had taken part in the work of the fifth FRELIMO Party Congress returned to Moscow from the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Reportage on Fifth Mozambique Party Congress

Foreign Minister on Decisions

PM0908143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent B. Pilyatskin dispatch: "The Chosen Course Has Not Been Renounced"]

[Text] Maputo—The decisions of the Fifth Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party Congress, which ended last Sunday in Maputo, were a sensation for the Western and RSA mass media. They interpret the documents adopted at the Palace of Congresses as Mozambique's rejection of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist course in general.

I was accredited at the congress and followed the course of the debates attentively, but I did not hear anything said about "renunciation." However, the renewed program adopted by the delegates to the party forum and other documents are not in fact reminiscent of Marxist-Leninist ideology, proletarian internationalism, and class struggle. I asked Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi, who was elected a member of the Politburo and the Frelimo Party Central Committee Secretariat at the congress, to express his opinion on this subject at a meeting with journalists.

"The congress," he replied, "imparted more realism to the party's policy and brought it into line with the current stage in the development of society. We are now faced with two main tasks. The first is to combat armed banditry and achieve peace, the second is to eliminate hunger and restore the economy. In order to achieve this, we must broaden our base of influence on the masses and mobilize all national forces. The new program has also been correlated with these realities. Incidentally," P. Mocumbi noted, "in the statutes adopted at the third congress the Frelimo Party did not define itself as a Marxist-Leninist party. As for our course, the current congress said that Mozambique's Frelimo Party is still directing its attention to building socialism. What I have said does not mean that our strategy and tactics should not be amended according to the particular phase of our development."

In connection with the task of establishing peace on Mozambican soil, I asked the minister what the recent news was in the quest for a settlement.

"Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi recently flew to Maputo for talks with President Joaquim Chissano. He then went to Addis Ababa, where he had contacts with other African leaders within the framework of the OAU session. We have still not received concrete information, but it is well known that Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe expressed support for the Mozambican leadership's initiatives and agreed to promote the quest for peace with the Kenyan president.

"I want to reiterate Mozambique's stance," the minister said in conclusion. "Dialogue with 'Mozambique National Resistance Movement' [Renamo] groupings can only begin if it renounces violence as a means of achieving its aims and halts its excesses against the peaceful population. Fighting is taking place at present between this grouping and Mozambican Armed Forces units in various provinces in the country, including the Gorongosa National Park area, where the Renamo headquarters is located."

Retains 'Socialist Orientation'

PM0908123589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[B. Pilyatskin dispatch under the "Correspondents Comment" rubric: "Mozambique: The Aim Is Still the Same"]

[Text] Maputo—A colorful demonstration was held Monday morning on the main street in Mozambique's capital—Avenida 25 Setembro. Tens of thousands of Maputo's inhabitants expressed support for the country's leadership and the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo], which has just held its fifth congress.

The congress lasted a week and elaborated program documents which will serve as guidelines for socioeconomic transformations, the development of democracy, and the strengthening of national sovereignty. Frelimo is henceforth defined as the "vanguard of the whole people, whose task is to express the latter's wishes and sentiments." In accordance with the change in statutes, believers, representatives of the private sector, rural leaders, and people with several wives (polygamy still exists here in rural areas) can also be party members. In the sphere of public education the statutes provide for the possibility of creating private schools. Alongside the state sector and cooperatives the economy will also rely on private entrepreneurs and will provide incentives for enlisting foreign capital.

Some Western mass media organs hastened to circulate a report saying that Mozambique has renounced its former Marxist-Leninist ideology and its socialist orientation. I think that the nature of the debate at the congress, analysis of the modified program for the coming decade, and the directive on socioeconomic development give no grounds for such general conclusions. Above all the report speech given by the republic's president, Joaquim Chissano, and the speeches by the participants in the party forum frequently mentioned the socialist aims behind the transformation of the country. As for abandoning some slogans that used to be current in the past such as "class struggle," under Mozambican conditions that does not reduce but, on the contrary, broadens the opportunities for consolidating progressive forces within the country. Anyone who wants to sow doubts about Mozambican-Soviet relations may remember what J. Chissano said at the congress about friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union still being an important factor for strengthening the republic's sovereignty. The Central Committee report expressed a high opinion of the policy of perestroyka and glasnost and M.S. Gorbachev's role in this.

It was officially announced that the new Central Committee elected a Central Committee Politburo of 12 people at the first plenum, along with a Secretariat and a Control Commission. J. Chissano was unanimously elected chairman of the Frelimo party, thus receiving confirmation under the existing constitution of his mandate for the post of head of state. In his closing speech he called upon Mozambicans to set about practical work to restore the economy, above all agricultural production, eliminate hunger, restructure society on the principles of justice and democracy, and create a socialist homeland.

Gorbachev Congratulates Congolese President

LD0708124189 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev has congratulated Sassou-Nguesso on being reelected to the post of chairman of the Congolese Party of Labor and taking up the office of president of the country. In his message, Mikhail Gorbachev expressed firm belief that friendship between the two countries and parties will continue to develop.

New Ambassador to Kenya Appointed

LD0908233389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1715 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 Aug (TASS)—The presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has appointed Vladimir Kitayev USSR ambassador in the Republic of Kenya and also as USSR permanent representative at international organizations headquartered in Nairobi.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has released Vladimir Ostashko from his duties as USSR ambassador to Kenya and permanent representative at international organizations in Nairobi in connection with his retirement.

Retiring Ambassador to Guyana Replaced

PM0808143389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 89 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Diary" report]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Mikhail Arkadyevich Sobolev USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Guyana.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade Anatoliy Andreyevich Ulanov of his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Guyana in connection with his retirement on a pension.

East Europe

Nyers Notes 'Sympathy' for Hungarian Reforms

PM0908113189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings wih Working People"]

[Text] During a visit to Bacs-Kiskun County, where the second round of interim elections is taking place in two cities, R. Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist

Workers Party [MSZMP], answered questions from working people about the Soviet leadership's stance on the changes taking place in Hungary and also regarding the likelihood of Hungarian neutrality. M.S. Gorbachev follows what is happening in Hungary with understanding and sympathy, the MSZMP leader said. As far as neutrality for Hungary is concerned, it is possible with the disbandment of military blocs.

Regarding economic problems, the MSZMP leader said that principally enterprises producing goods for the Soviet market are encountering difficulties. The country cannot prosper without cooperative and state ownership. Ties with all countries must be strenuously developed. Hungary should play the role of a bridge between East and West Europe in the political, economic, cultural, and technological spheres.

Hungarian Socialist Party Influences Reform

PM0808105989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch under the rubric "Life of the Fraternal Parties": "MSZMP on the Path of Change"]

[Text] Budapest,—Although I had a pass—a foreign journalist's accredited "name tag"—I took my place with everyone else: People filling the width of the Danube embankment walked to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee building. We had to stand 5-6 hours to take our leave of Comrade Janos Kadar. That day the funeral procession lasted from late afternoon until almost 0200 hours. Almost 60,000 people went past in that time and then again from morning to afternoon. And another 250,000 gathered at the Pantheon of the workers movement at the cemetery. The country seemed to be saying goodbye—albeit within a very short allotted "official" time frame—to the "Kadar era," paying tributes of respect and recognition to him, the MSZMP, and all the good that has been done, things which can inspire pride when analyzing the past and thinking about the future with apprehension and concern.

"Hungary has set off down a new untrodden path, where progress is difficult," Rezso Nyers, chairman of the MSZMP, said at the funeral meeting. "We must replace exchanges of opinions and debates filled with alarm for the future with cohesion; this will help boost the nation."

The multiparty system, parliamentary democracy, the MSZMP's rejection of direct leadership of state institutions, the destruction of the "party state," the anticipated formation of a coalition government, a new attitude to property (state, cooperative, group, and private property may be amalgamated in a single "package"), authorization for private entrepreneurs to employ up to 500 people, the transfer and complete sale (up to 100 percent of the shares) of enterprises to Western capitalists, complete glasnost, and freedom of speech... The changing face of the country over the last year cannot help but arouse confusion, debate, and clashes of opinions among party members.

Many people have begun to regard the change in the model of socialism as the rejection of socialism. In late February and March a debate broke out over the tragic fall of 1956. A "people's uprising" or a "counterrevolution"? A large group immediately formed within the party ranks proclaiming: "This was a counterrevolution, 12-15,000 people took part in the armed struggle, this was no 'people's uprising.'" They were dubbed "fundamentalists." Stormily objecting to this "tag," at their rallies and meetings and in letters to and interviews with newspapers they invariably advocate reforms and the renewal of the MSZMP, while criticizing the leadership. Their platform won the title "MSZMP united Marxist platform."

I have attended their meetings—most of them are party veterans, but there are some young people.

Last fall the first MSZMP reform group was formed. In effect, a platform arose; its members advocate new resolute transformations and more rapid and radical changes. This spring republic conferences of the groups' representatives began to take place. There are now several hundred of them. Rezso Nyers, Imre Pozsgay, and other MSZMP leaders spoke at their sittings. A rumor spread around the country that a new party is to be set up on the basis of these groups and that an MSZMP split is inevitable. At one sitting in May representatives of the reform circles demanded the rehabilitation of Imre Nagy (he was Hungary's prime minister during fall 1956 and was subsequently executed), the convocation of an MSZMP congress, and the strengthening of the market economy.

The reburial in mid-June of Imre Nagy and others who were executed with a view to national reconciliation (extreme antisocialist and anti-Soviet statements were voiced at the rally by representatives of the opposition forces) once again aroused a wave of friction and dispute within the MSZMP.

Many communists, unlike members of the opposition parties and groups, who have their own newspapers and journals, have difficulty in getting their opinions into NEPSZABADSAG and other party newspapers and journals. This exacerbates the tension. Sociological studies have begun to show that the number of people who are turning away from the MSZMP and its policy is increasing. There is no positive evidence in the mass media in defense of socialism. The MSZMP hushes up its past achievements. At the same time the economic, social, and human problems of a bourgeois society are concealed. This also arouses concern and alarm among party members. A certain degree of alienation has arisen in relations between the leadership and ordinary communists. The polarization of opinions has continued to shake the party from within. A movement "Agreement to MSZMP Renewal" has emerged in an attempt to unite the poles as it were. Janos Berecz, former member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, founded this platform.

The complex and sensitive process of MSZMP renewal, which I have tried to depict in "chronological" order, is now entering a new phase: Preparations for the congress have begun. It will be held 6 October. Although the "top floor" was transformed in June—four people were elected to the MSZMP Presidium (Rezso Nyers, chairman; Karoly Grosz, general secretary; Miklos Nemeth, prime minister; and Imre Poszgay, state minister) and there were elections to the MSZMP Political Executive Committee (21 people). By broadening intraparty democracy, the MSZMP is more able to adopt coordinated decisions on building a new social edifice, but the structure is not very stable as yet. Certainly, there will be compromises. Certainly, the restructuring the MSZMP on democratic principles will help achieve broad social consensus among the forces of renewal. But has the danger of a split been eliminated? The reformist wing is proposing that the name of the "Hungarian Socialist Workers Party" be changed, and the upcoming congress may be the first congress of the party without the word "worker" in its name.

Do we want to be a workers' or people's party? At what cost can communists be preserved as the leading echelon in the new edifice? While asking such radical questions, MSZMP members are trying to answer them via trenchant debates. The ideological foundations for a new model of socialist building are under discussion.

"A renewed party will in all probability consider the values of both movements and combine them," Rezso Nyers said recently in response to the question of which features will prevail within the party: social democratic or communist. In organizational structure, internal work, and its system of contacts with society the party will rely on the social democratic legacy and will retain the communist movement's higher degree of organization, party work, and greater boldness in reforms. In my opinion, the MSZMP must be a people's party developing its activity in the achievement of democratic objectives.

Current trends and platforms within the party ranks must merge together before the congress and not act as obstacles and barriers—I believe that realization of this is increasing now. This realization is backed up by the fact that the MSZMP still plays a crucial role in the political and spiritual spheres. This must not be jeopardized.

The MSZMP had 880,000 members in 1987. This figure had fallen to 780,000 this spring and it is now somewhere in the region of approximately 750-760,000. Some 30-35,000 people joined the MSZMP annually until 1986. This figure was only 13,000 last year. Some 2,000 people entered the party in the first quarter of this year. The dynamics are unequivocal—a decline is under way. The election struggle lies ahead, where every "man" is very important.

But if the MSZMP works in a purposeful and new fashion and restructures itself on the move, escaping from old methods, uniting its actions, and securing a political synthesis of various opinions and views, then most working people will vote for it in the realization that it has organized and is organizing the renewal of all society and that it is a prestigious force without which there can be no progress.

CPSU's Zaykov Meets Bulgaria's Zhivkov

LD0908180489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1650 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, 9 Aug (TASS)—L.N. Zaykov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and CPSU Moscow City Committee first secretary, who is on vacation in Bulgaria at the invitation of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, today met Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary chairman of the Bulgarian Council of State.

During the conversation, held in an atmosphere of cordiality, frankness, and fraternity, it was noted that the fundamental identity of basic aims and tasks of profound changes in all spheres of public life in Bulgaria and the USSR, the further improvement of the mechanisms and forms of close cooperation, were opening up favorable opportunities for creating a new model of all-around cooperation between our countries in conditions of perestroyka, for raising Bulgarian-Soviet political, economic, and cultural relations to a qualitatively new level. These questions occupied the central place in the course of the recent working meeting in Moscow and in the conversation held between T. Zhivkov and M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet chairman.

L.N. Zaykov's and T. Zhivkov's talks stressed that relations and cooperation between our fraternal parties, countries, and peoples are fruitful and dynamic. Comrade T. Zhivkov stressed they had always been and will be an exceptionally important factor of the building of socialism in Bulgaria in the future. The processes of renewal connected with perestroyka in the country of soviets, were of historic significance not only for the Soviet Union, but also for socialism and peace throughout the world. The whole Bulgarian public was therefore following with tremendous interest and goodwill the revolutionary reforms being implemented in the USSR.

L.N. Zaykov detailed the work of restructuring the CPSU, the political vanguard of Soviet society, of the results of the recently ended session of the USSR

Supreme Soviet, which had been an important step forward in the implementation of perestroyka, in the further development of democratization in the USSR.

Comrades T. Zhivkov and L.N. Zaykov, indicating that the socialist countries' use of each other's experience was being done in a creative manner, taking account of their specific national features, stressed that a broad range of searches and variety of solutions enriched the theory and practice of socialism, and that was why it is so important to study and make a general assessment of collectively accumulated experience, to have a frank, comradely exchange of the results of the work carried out.

During the meeting stress was laid on the tremendous importance of raising the effectiveness of cooperation via the local bodies of the BCP and CPSU. The conviction was expressed that the capitals of both countries, Sofia and Moscow, could and should be an example of its further development.

Present at the conversation were M. Balev, BCP Central Committee politburo member, BCP Central Committee secretary, and D. Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary.

Taking part in the meeting was V.V. Sharapov, the Soviet Union's ambassador to the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Walesa Declaration on Coalition Viewed

OW0908142689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1005 GMT 9 Aug 89

[From the "World Today" program presented by Dmitriy Biryukov]

[Text] Hello, Comrades. This morning a telegram from Warsaw brought a report on the session of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo, which was held on Tuesday. The session discussed the problems related to forming a new government.

As you probably remember, Comrades, Czeslaw Kiszczak, new Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic [PPR] was entrusted with this mission by the Sejm, on the proposal of the PPR President. The question under discussion was the establishment of a so-called great coalition, with the participation of the PZPR, the United Peasants Party, and the Democratic Party—the latter two parties are allied with the PZPR—as well as with the representatives of the opposition.

The situation, however, was complicated by the fact that Lech Walesa made a declaration protesting the formation of the Kiszczak government. The same declaration emphasizes that the PZPR should not participate in the future government.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo noted that it does not overestimate the significance of the Walesa declaration. Nevertheless, it paid attention to the fact that this declaration complicates the speedy formation of an efficient and competent cabinet, which is so much needed by a country that is presently living through a complicated situation. Thus, in a new manner, the opposition is further obstructing the success of the Kiszczak mission. Previously it rejected the mere concept of the great coalition.

Attempt to break the coalition of the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party, or, at least to make their cooperation more difficult, are dangerous enough on their own. The Politburo emphasized that a genuine danger of a governmental crisis is arising as a specific consequence of the Walesa initiative. In a broader aspect, an attempt is being made to annul the experience of the roundtable discussion on the whole, and to question the soundness of the agreements that have been reached.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo especially emphasized that, in connection with the specific situation and the emergence of a new correlation of political and parliamentary forces in Poland, party organizations and committees should guide themselves by the principles of agreement and struggle. An agreement is needed with all forces guided by the good of the people and the state, although they may hold different views. A struggle is needed against all activities directed against socialism and legal order in the PPR.

It seems to me that Walesa has decided, by demonstrating firmness in this fashion, to increase his prestige in the present situation while various groupings within the opposition, and in particular within the Solidarity, are delineating their activities.

The situation in Poland has become definitely more complicated since August 1, when market mechanisms were introduced into the sphere of food supply. This caused a drastic prices increase and manifestations of dissatisfaction by the government. The opposition, which very recently was proposing the introduction of market mechanisms into the Polish economy on the whole, is now dissociating itself from this and claims that the new situation is contrary to the interests of many Poles.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has analyzed problems related to the introduction of market mechanisms and has called party organizations to support all initiatives directed towards improvement of the food supply to the population and to cooperate in this with all social forces, primarily with trade unions.

Polish Elections, Solidarity Moves Viewed

18070341 LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 29 19 Jul 89 pp 9, 14

[Article by M. Pavlova-Silvanskaya, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent: "The Polish Formula"]

[Text] "All we wanted was a little pastry. But instead they smacked a whole fancy cake into our face. Now we are rubbing the cream out of our eyes." This is the picturesque way in which Polish journalist Leon Bujko described his impression of the victory of the opposition in the parliamentary elections. It must be said that the members of "Solidarity's" brain trust rubbed their eyes and recovered surprisingly quickly. They rubbed their eyes open, looked around, and took a sensible view of things.

It is most likely that politics and politicians start out with a sensible view of things. When you lack the fortitude to see the world as it is, then it is better not to thrust yourself into stormy and, most often, murky waters. A person who, having lost or having committed a blunder, seeks refuge in a world of deceitful daydreams, and he who strives to see unpleasant reality through rose-colored glasses, is a person who is either a political beginner or one who is generally unsuited to the pursuit of politics. It can be asserted with absolute confidence about the leading figures of "Solidarity": These are really politicians, remarkable ones.

If anyone secretly thought that their heads would begin to swim from success, that person miscalculated. One of the journalists associated with the Polish opposition tossed this at me in a conversation: "It was very important to us that we prevent euphoria from entering our own ranks, and luckily we were able to do this."

In my opinion, these were the most indicative parameters of the past elections. First, the armed forces and the militia voted absolutely the same as civilians. Only they might have more frequently crossed out the names of the ministers of defense and the interior from the all-Polish list. The diplomats from Polish representations abroad in the same way "blackballed" their own political patron, Jozef Czyrek, the secretaty of the PZPR [Polish United Worker's Party]. The "Solidarity" candidate won a victory even in Moscow where the colony voted, of course, in an electoral okrug that was carefully selected according to personal particulars. Supporters of the opposition assessed all of these phenomena with a mercilessly measured formula: a plebescite against authority. Second, individual peasants who were fairly well off, and who were against the local municipal leadership and for "Solidarity," began to stir and show unusual interest. In amazement, its agitators only threw up their arms in disbelief. Think about it, it appears that up until now nobody from the villages seriously even talked about political matters!

Third, about 40 percent of the voters did not vote in the first round at all. Some are inclined to interpret this unknown in the Polish political equation optimistically: They say, you see, not everyone has succumbed to the charms of the opposition. I fear that the illusion is out of place here. Those young people ignored the elections who have lost faith in everything, who are besieging Western embassies and consulates with the hope of obtaining a visa (the emigration of young educated Poles is assuming the scale of a national calamity and puts the future of the country in doubt). Those also stayed home on 4 June who have been irrevocably victimized by everyday living—ration cards, high prices, and lines. A completely different category of the disenchanted are the elderly people whose entire life and career and ideas and emotions have been associated with that former PZPR, and who frankly have not accepted the "roundtable" or the agreement with the opposition.

Unfortunately the common denominator of these 40 percent is the possibility of an unpredictably swift radicalization of the mood of millions of people and an "avalanche" of events that is developing impetuously and uncontrollably. The present relative public calm nourishes only the hope that after the elections something will change in a fundamental way. If this does not happen, all it will take is a spark—some kind of an insignificant incident, a petty provocation, so that both flanks, the right and the left, suddenly close ranks and people take to the streets and squares. In this sense, "Solidarity" is the last dam, and it is difficult to imagine what will happen if it also is washed away.

Now about the post-election effects. Saturated to the limit, the political solution was activated, and a latent recrystallization is taking place in it. The "Solidarity" leadership was once again confronted with the question: "What do we do now? The day before 4 June, new and effectively functioning national organizational structures were formed in the center and in localities—citizens' committees. After the elections, at a meeting of the all-Polish executive commission of "Solidarity," 17 of the 23 leaders of its regional organizations came out for the dissolution of the province [voivod] elements. The national Polish citizen's committee, where political figures of the movement are concentrated, primarily intellectuals, sharply opposed such a resolution. Someone tossed out the phrase that, they say, in rejecting the established and functioning structures, the opposition would introduce a record for stupidity in the Guinness Book of Records. It is said that Lech Walesa, who is accustomed to being greeted with enthusiasm always, had to speak three times at a meeting of the citizens' committee in support of the point of view of the trade union leaders. Each time he was met with a deathly silence and, only after rejecting the position, did he receive the usual "bravo."

There is a second serious reason for the ferment inside "Solidarity." The sources of the movement themselves were democratic. But at the beginning of this year events started to roll along so fast that there was neither the time nor the place for democratic processes. From time to time the supporters of "Solidarity" treated infringements on democracy with understanding, but after the victory... Later, questions were asked: But who, in fact, elected the citizens' committee? But who, in fact, compiled the list of candidates for deputy?" And so forth. And at this point a new source of conflict surfaced: The leaders of what seemed to be a democratic movement and who were able through their own personality to express its aims and ideas (for example, L. Walesa and Z. Bujak) were obviously inclined toward an authoritarian style of leadership.

And the party? And the government? They, for the time being apparently, have not yet recovered from the shock they endured and are lingering, losing valuable weeks, which for the gravely ill Polish economy, of course, will not pass without leaving a trace. The government of M. Rakowski has established authority formally and is fulfilling its functions only temporarily until the Sejm accepts its report. As early as last year, the political circles of Poland spoke about the feasibility of establishing a government of nonparty specialists. "The problem, however, is that they are nowhere to be had," said T. Mazowiecki. "There simply are no such specialists who also do not belong to the party." Therefore, "Solidarity" proposes a new version: A government that would consist of fairly competent people who have not been too compromised in the eyes of the population.

But in all of the ferment, differences, and uncertainties, the past elections have one main and indisputable result. Henceforth, a numerically large faction of deputies from the opposition, elected by the people on a legal basis, will sit in a higher legislative organ of Poland. Although, given the results of the elections, it is even difficult to say who, in fact, is the opposition.

If one judges, for example, by the reaction of our central television (I have in mind the program "Vremya"), this fact did not please everyone. Nonetheless, we will have to swallow it. If you bow devotedly to the ideals of democracy, be so kind as to face their unpleasant consequences if they reflect the will of the people. Otherwise, see what happens: As in the pages of a textbook on historical materialism—there it is, his excellency the working class, but as tens of millions in the ranks of an insubordinate trade union—it is "extremists" and even "antisocialist elements." This double bookkeeping was noticed long ago in A.I. Solzhenitsyn's "Cancer Ward": its nomenklatura character is ready to lay down his life for the people, but he despised the population—the people around him with their petty everyday concerns.

The victory of "Solidarity" will not simply have to be swallowed. The following step will have to be taken: Establish normal, civilized contacts with the Polish opposition. Exactly like those, let us say, that we maintain with the laborites when Whitehall is in the hands of the conservatives or vice-versa. The words spoken by M.S. Gorbachev at a press conference in Paris about the possibility of L. Walesa coming to Moscow is the first sign of inevitable changes.

When you read how the outcome of the Polish elections is sometimes explained, you are astounded by how much the attention of other observers is enticed by secondary facts. For example, "Solidarity" is castigated to the utmost for excessive energetic and downright aggressive behavior in the elections and for transforming them into a political fight. Please, let me know, what else would you expect? That the candidates from the right coalition and "Solidarity," like Chichikov and Manilov, will begin to hesitate at the doors of parliament, letting each other into the Senate and Sejm. Or that suddenly a gap will form in the memories of both sides into which recollections of the crises of 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976, and 1980-1981, martial law, the underground, and internment will disappear without a trace? Well, enough, elections in a pluralistic society is not a game for Leopold's cat with his saying "fellows, let us be friends."

Or, for example, they assure you: "Solidarity," they say, won with the help of a war of posters that were flashy and insistent. It is true that the whole country to this day is plastered so densely with leaflets that you cannot find an open space. It is interesting reading, simply a competition in resourcefulness and quick wit. In Kracow, for example, a professor and the chief of a militia office were vying for a deputy seat. "Solidarity" parried the ironic attack "when your apartment is robbed go to the professor!" with "send the professor to the Sejm and the militiaman to the militia!" By comparison with the leaflet war that went on in the spring in my native Moscow Cheremushkinskiy Rayon, this style seemed to be simply refined small talk. Of course, one also encountered unsuccessful and simply silly aphorisms. On both sides. For example, in one of the Polish Roman Catholic churches, I spotted: "'Solidarity' can even make something out of nothing." Picture what a stretch of the imagination this is. But on Marshalkowska [Street] the wind tore an enormous banner on which the PZRP, in letters three-quarters of a meter in size, assured that "everyone who thinks is with us." It simply took away my breath. But are there millions of Poles who do not think?

During the elections, the PZPR workers displayed an unforgivable lack of political sophistication. This is a logical result of the fact that in the previous system of rule even major party functionaries rarely matured into genuine politicians. The demand for these personal qualities and appropriate knowledge was insignificant. L. Miller, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, for example, noted that his party lost the elections by competing with symbols, and one of the officials of the PZPR Central Committee in an interview with a special TASS correspondent even called the elections to the Senate clownish. Of course, a certain similarity to a political theater inevitably arises—and we, ordinary

Soviet citizens—also opened one for ourselves recently. To be sure, in a political struggle under conditions of pluralism, word symbols and people symbols play a tremendous role. But that is the way it has been and will be, not only in a bourgeois democracy, but in our society as well. "Solidarity" is absolutely beside the point here. It is a feature of politics as such, and it is a phenomenon of mass psychology—of an archipelago that has hardly been studied here.

The coalition paid the highest price for its improvidence, losing 33 seats out of 35 that appeared on the all-Polish list (and, as you know, the leaders of the PZPR, allied parties, the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation of Poland], and the government).

By antedating one can argue that if a proportional and not a majority system of government existed, then many PZPR workers whose names are associated with the "roundtable" would have received the necessary number of votes—because after all they were supported by 6 million voters. But is it not possible to agree in a timely way about a suitable electoral law? It is possible. In a word, there is no getting away from the fact that the party did not have enough experience in working with democratic procedures and institutions.

The rare paradox of today's political situation in Poland was brilliantly reduced to two sentences by the American journalist (W. Echikson):

"The losers are getting ready to govern the country.

"The winners are trying to help the losers."

"Solidarity" is observing the signed agreement, although the temptation to breach it is great. For you do not have to be a Solomon to understand: If the seats in parliament were not distributed according to the earlier fixed proportions, the opposition would have "gobbled up" not only all of the Senate seats, but also an absolute majority in the Sejm. And then it could also be said about it what A. Michnik attributed to the other chamber: "We have gained an exceedingly boring Senate where we will have to talk to ourselves."

Of course, the opposition is conducting itself this temperately not at all because of an innate peaceableness or synpathy for communists. Why does it not try to take power? Because we have heard so many times in recent years, they say, that power is its principal aim and secret dream. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a recognized strategist of "Solidarity," gave me the reasoning of the opposition approximately this way: "We are not ready. For example, how can we agree to take some ministerial post if you know beforehand that its entire top nomenklatura echelon will sabotage any directives of the opposition chief? And we do not have our own people in the apparatus—neither in the ministries, nor in the voivodships, nor in the municipalities. Self-government from below has yet to be established. The nomenklatura has to be eliminated once and for all, and the state apparatus has to be depoliticized, otherwise a voluntary rotation of forces in authority will be impossible altogether.

"To enter the government under today's conditions would then and there denote compromising ourselves in the eyes of our own constituents. They obviously will not approve a broad coalition with our participation if all key posts remain in the hands of the PZPR. We believe that we will be able to influence the policy of the government far more effectively by conducting parliamentary debates, explaining to the public the gist of problems under consideration and submitting alternative versions for their resolutions."

And the economic programs of the opposition are only in outline form (however, work in this sense by the government is not going any better). First, there are no specialists who would be able to cope with a market economy. "The only person in Poland who would be able to teach students commercial law is now near 70," explains Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the Union of Polish Journalists, which was dissolved during martial law and which was restored just recently. "All of the rest of our economists were taught the political economy of socialism after 1948. They have not even sniffed a market."

To convince people, and to get them to follow you, requires access to the mass media system and the time to form favorable public opinion. An hour a week on radio and a half hour on television alloted by the opposition in the period of the pre-election campaign did not make it possible to come near to explaining the fundamentals of "Solidarity's" economic program.

As a result, many rank-and-file voters, who supported the "retinue" of L. Walesa, fail to understand the actions of the leaders of the opposition—because of the complexity—and they are applying pressure: What's the point; you won, so why not take power and form a government? This brings about small crises in the camp of "Solidarity" and its allies. For example, after learning that the citizens' committee decided to fulfill the conditions of the signed agreement and, after touching up the election law between the two rounds of voting and letting the ruling coalition fill the same 33 seats, the people started to send in indignant letters and tear up their trade union membership cards. Later, complications began with regard to the election of the president.

"There exists in Poland a traditional concept of a president as one who expresses national, above-party interests," said T. Mazowiecki. "The PZPR leadership wants to have a president-guarantor of the existing system and international alliances of the country; for this reason, the national armed forces remain under its command. These two concepts obviously contradict each other. But we understand that by encroaching on the post of president we would be trying the patience of the PZPR, and so we intend to abide by the agreement." This was true while "Solidarity" did not nominate an alternative candidacy.

However, in an article "The President Is Yours—The Premier Is Ours" by A. Michnik, which came out out on 3 June causing quite a sensation, the author asked the price for "Solidarity's" support of the candidate proposed by the communists: the right to form a government under the leadership of Professor Bronislav Geremek, chairman of the club of opposition deputies. It is true that a day later "Solidarity's" press representative, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, disavowed the GAZETA WYBORCZA publication, declaring that it only reflected the personal opinion of its editor-in-chief.

But what would all of this mean? It means that the opposition is playing a subtle and complex political game. In any case, it is rather difficult to believe that the article of A. Michnik is the action of a freelancer.

I can only suppose that "Solidarity," among other things, is trying to reduce tension in the relations with its own constituents. You see, according to Polish standards the situation in the internal market of the country is becoming catastrophic. A new wave of strikes is obviously rolling in, and it is becoming more and more difficult to hold back. Especially because the "other" trade unions—the National Trade Union Confederation—are criticizing the government at the top of their voice.

The kind of political structure where the communist president guarantees a smooth, nonviolent transition to a new order under stiff opposition was called the "Polish formula" by F. Mitterand. How long it will hold out—whether 4 years as was arranged at the "roundtable," or 1 and ½ to 2 years—is impossible to say today when events are breaking not just every day but every hour. Z. Brzezinski, who recently lectured in Poland, associates the immediate fully free elections with the 100-year jubilee of the Polish 1891 Constitution. One thing is apparent: Completely different political forces come to these elections; not only the opposition, but the Communist Party itself (or parties), will be different. It is not an accident that its current leaders are sending completely clear political signals. For example, Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, came out for the need to change the name of the party: It should become a people's and socialist party, and it should nourish the traditions of the Polish leftists and approximate the character of a social democracy.

So, the "Polish formula" presupposes a temporary consensus between the ruling party and its coalition allies and the opposition. This is its essence: It is not possible to live as before, but the transition to the new system should be accomplished without violence.

Yugoslav Communist League Debates Ethnic Discord

PM0908153189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[APN correspondent A. Belyanskiy dispatch: "A Future in Unity. Yugoslavia On the Road to Overcoming Interethnic Problems"]

[Text] Belgrade—If someone had the idea of working out which word is now used most of all in the Yugoslav political lexicon, APN's own correspondent in Belgrade reported to the editorial office, I am sure that he would think of the word "crisis." It is almost a certainty that no private conversation or topical political article can manage without it. It is used in the most diverse combinations: political, socioeconomic, financial, and so forth.

The country has become painfully used to the word "crisis," although it was not easy to get used to it after a long period of dynamic development had turned the war-ravaged country into a state with a flourishing economy and major achievements in the social sphere. And just when it seemed to many people that their country had created a mechanism capable of perpetual self-improvement, it began to experience increasingly serious problems, which, since the beginning of the eighties, have become increasingly felt in all spheres of Yugoslav society's life.

It would be no exaggeration to say that one of the most painful points in the chain of crisis phenomena is the problem of exacerbated interethnic relations in the country. The 25th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Plenum, which ended this week in Belgrade, was devoted to precisely these questions.

What did the country and Yugoslav Communists take to the plenum? For many years now, the autonomous region of Kosovo, where Albanians form the bulk of the population, has been a source of national pain. At the same time, the region's territory is the historical homeland of many Serbs and Montenegrins who are constantly discriminated against, and attempts are made to squeeze them out of the region. The government has managed to get the situation there under control only by introducing emergency measures, although the atmosphere continues to remain explosive. Relations between individual republics are becoming increasingly dramatic and there are heated polemics between the republics' leading organs. The country was recently swept by a wave of rallies whose thousands of participants strongly demanded that the various ethnic confrontations be overcome. Possibly the most dangerous aspect of it all, as the plenum noted, incidentally, is that the interethnic discord has penetrated the LCY, holding its leading organs in its grip.

So what did the plenum say? It said that failure to resolve the problems of interethnic relations has acted as a catalyst for negative phenomena such as the increasing isolation of some republics' economies, the disintegration of the unified Yugoslav market, and the slowing down of the process of the circulation of capital, commodities, and manpower. All this has led to an intensification of parochial, strictly ethnic interests. In these conditions, the preconditions have been created for artificial self-ennoblement by some nations. What is more, views which amount to changing the very nature of the Yugoslav federation have gained currency in the country recently on the crest of this wave. There are different versions of these views: from the typically nationalist to separatist and those which reflect a desire for a confederation.

This plenum, which had perhaps been awaited particularly impatiently, was to have given clear, precise answers to the question of why nationalism has flared up and what is to be done to remove it. Did it succeed in this? There is no straightforward answer to this at present. During the discussions—which were stormy and emotional—different, sometimes opposite points of view were expressed. In any case, no final documents had been approved by the end of the plenum. The Central Committee has the job of making the final decisions on these questions at the end of August or the beginning of September.

In this respect it should be borne in mind that the 25th plenum was held within the framework of preparations for the 14th (Extraordinary) LCY Congress, planned for December, which will have to work out the main aspects of Yugoslav Communists' strategy for extricating the country from its profound, all-embracing crisis. In this sense, the comparison of views at the plenum was far from useless. As Milan Pancevski, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said in his closing speech, "the plenum discussion will contribute in many ways to resolving the disputes." Despite the fact that it was sometimes not a totally specific, cogent dialogue. Nevertheless, the conclusions reached by the plenum participants will, he said, have "great significance for strengthening the equality, fraternity, and unity of the peoples and ethnic groups of Yugoslavia." The idea that the future of self-management and socialism as a whole in Yugoslavia depends on the situation in questions of interethnic relations and that any violation of these relations threatens the country's territorial integrity and the interests of all its citizens came across particularly strongly in his speech.

The fairness of this conclusion is obvious. After all, Yugoslavia has decisively embarked on a course of radically renewing its model of socialism and so it is important that the LCY and all Yugoslavs now concentrate their efforts on radical reforms in the economic and political spheres and within the party itself.

West Europe

Yazov Interviewed on Recent Trip to UK

18010867 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 89 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with Army Gen D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense and candidate member to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by TASS correspondent; date, place not specified: "From Positions of New Thinking"]

[Text] **General of the Army D.T. Yazov, candidate member to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, answers questions from TASS correspondent.**

[TASS] Dmitriy Timofeyevich, the other day you concluded your visit to Great Britain. As we know, and as the foreign mass media also emphasized, you became the first Soviet minister of defense in the history of relations between the two countries to set foot on British soil. What is your assessment of this visit?

[Yazov] The fact that I happened to be the first USSR minister of defense to visit Great Britain added a special responsibility. My comrades in the military delegation and I were well aware of this. We were also aware that to a certain extent we had to open a new page in Soviet-British military relations. But in the context of the current international situation, our visit was one of many steps dictated by the logic of new political thinking. It is perfectly obvious that it became possible thanks to the significant improvement in the political climate in Europe and in the world as a whole. And if one has in mind Soviet-British relations, the inclusion of military contacts in them is the result of summit meetings and talks between the leaders of the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

Perhaps the dialogue was the most noteworthy thing in our visit. It turned out to be candid, mutually interesting, and dynamic. We listened attentively to them and, as it appeared to us, they also listened very attentively to us. We made it clear to them that the Soviet Union is striving for a decisive reduction in the level of confrontation, for disarmament, for creating a comprehensive and reliable system of security, and for a nuclear-free, non-violent world.

The Soviet delegation held meetings and talks with Prime Minister M. Thatcher, the secretary of foreign affairs, the secretary of defense, and other military leaders of Great Britain. Along with the obvious interest, good will, and openness, one still sometimes got the feeling that the burden of old ideas is still great. I hope that our talks will to some degree help the British leaders better understand the words and deeds of the Soviet Union.

We see the main result of our trip to be the fact that, judging from the numerous meetings and talks and from the statements by the British mass media, it helped to move forward in this direction.

[TASS] You, as they say, discovered Great Britain for yourself. Undoubtedly, you gained various impressions. Naturally, you cannot talk about everything in such a brief interview. Nevertheless, we would like to hear about what was most memorable for you and about the most significant impressions you got during the visit.

[Yazov] If we talk about "discovering" Great Britain, I began familiarizing myself with it back in my youth. I was helped in this by W. Shakespeare, G. Byron, C. Dickens, H. Wells, S. Maugham.... I gleaned quite a bit from history, including from the history of the art of war. The years of the Great Patriotic War left an indelible mark on me, when the Soviet Union and Great Britain were allies, when our armies were fighting a common enemy—fascism. This is of special value for us frontline soldiers.

So, before I arrived in the British Isles, I had a sufficiently clear and, I would say, thorough notion about the people who live and work there, about their nature and traditions. But you are generally right—familiarization without seeing, no matter how extensive and substantive, cannot take the place of direct association and personal contacts.

The schedule was quite full. We became familiar with how they train soldiers and how they train officers of the British Army. We visited the paratrooper training center in Aldershot and talked with the commander of ground forces on the territory of Great Britain, Gen C. Huxtable, the commander of the training center, Lt Col D. Campbell, and other officers. At the Sandhurst Military Academy, its chief Maj Gen P. Graham demonstrated to us the psychological aspect of training cadets. We also looked at new combat equipment. The air base commander, Air Col A. Begnoll, acquainted us with the capabilities of the Tornado and Harrier aircraft. On board the aircraft carrier Invincible, the ship's commander Capt 1st Rank M. Gretton conducted a small demonstration exercise.

Of course, our impressions were not limited solely to the military. Everywhere the Soviet military delegation went there were meetings and talks with people—planned and spontaneous. The range of issues which were touched upon in one way or another during these talks was extremely broad and diverse. The British show an interest in perestroyka in our country, the processes of democratization and glasnost, the activities of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, reforms in the Soviet Armed Forces, the peace initiatives and steps by the USSR in the international arena, and many other issues.

A conclusion suggests itself: there must be more contact, contact at all levels. Incidentally, there was a separate conversation about this. We exchanged with the leadership of the British armed forces proposals on development of military contacts in the next few years. These proposals will be studied by the sides, after which a general, coordinated program for expanding bilateral military relations may be determined.

[TASS] In connection with your visit to Great Britain, public attention in the West was drawn to the problems associated with the Soviet Union's position in the area of disarmament. Your address at the London Royal Institute of International Relations, Dmitriy Timofeyevich, evoke a particularly large response. Could you briefly outline the content of this address?

[Yazov] A wide range of problems were touched upon during the meeting at the Royal Institute of International Relations. But in the final analysis, they all focused on disarmament. And this is natural. After all, for centuries how have states carried out the task of ensuring their security? According to this seemingly permanent pattern: Any action in the area of arms was immediately followed by a counteraction. Thus, a vicious, closed circle emerged. To continue to follow this circle in the nuclear age means to move inevitably closer to a catastrophe. In order to break this circle, we must change the direction of movement, turn sharply away from the principle of overarmament to the principle of defense sufficiency. In other words, we must embark on the path of disarmament. But, you would agree, it is not enough just to embark on this path. We must move along it. It is clear that such movement makes sense if everyone participates in it. But to begin this movement, it is important to overcome inertia, move off dead center, take the first step. Realizing this, the Soviet Union decided to take major steps in the area of disarmament, including unilaterally.

The unilateral reduction of 500,000 troops is a materialization of our radically revised military doctrine, which now, as is known, has been given a particularly defensive nature. Its nucleus, expressing the highest goal of the Soviet state and its Armed Forces, is the prevention of war. In accordance with this, qualitative changes are taking place along with the quantitative reductions.

This deep restructuring of the Armed Forces is closely tied to our other peace initiatives.

We are deeply convinced that reliance on force, on deterrence, on nuclear weapons is irrational by its very essence, since it objectively leads to a catastrophe. Unfortunately, up to now the West, recognizing that nuclear war will lead to catastrophe, has still not abandoned attempts to adapt nuclear weapons for carrying out missions on the battlefield and in a theater of war on a global scale. Declaring that there can be no winner in a nuclear war, they still do not wish to outlaw nuclear weapons or at least pledge not to use them first, as we have pledged.

We consider a mutual reduction in naval forces to be one of the most important problems of disarmament. We see expanding confidence building measures to naval activities as an integral part of the all-European process. I suggested to the participants in the meeting at the Royal Institute to picture themselves in the position of a man who finds himself in someone's sights, no matter which way he turns. The Soviet Union has been in roughly the same position for many years, encircled by hundreds of U.S. and NATO military bases with more than a 500,000-strong grouping of armed forces, large air and naval forces, and nuclear weapons stationed on them. Wouldn't it really be logical to include this constantly active factor of destabilization of the international situation in the disarmament process?

Success of the negotiations in Geneva and Vienna are of key importance for further development of the disarmament process. A good beginning has been created in Geneva. A search is now under way for a mutually acceptable solution to the question of the interrelationship of strategic offensive arms and antiballistic-missile defense. Any deep reductions in strategic offensive arms are possible only if the sides reject creating and deploying wide-scale antiballistic-missile defense systems—this is an essential condition for maintaining stability in the process of reducing nuclear potential. We expect from our negotiating partners constructive approaches to resolving issues associated with air-launched and sea-launched cruise missiles.

We consider the goals of the negotiations in Vienna to be quite attainable. The initiatives advanced by M.S. Gorbachev and the quick response to them by U.S. President G. Bush have given these negotiations a new political impetus. Our position is clear: Any attempts to gain military superiority—and this is precisely the essence of the NATO proposals on aviation and the number of troops of the USSR and the US located on the territory of allies, and also the desire to create new imbalances and asymmetries—are unacceptable and impermissible. We need to search for compromises on a mutual basis.

We attach fundamental importance to opening independent talks on tactical nuclear weapons for the purpose of reducing and totally eliminating them. Keeping this type of weapon, which has an enormous destructive potential and are capable of being used in a first strike, will have a destabilizing effect on the situation in Europe. Moreover, this effect will intensify as a result of the planned modernization and buildup of tactical nuclear weapons in NATO.

As far as other disarmament problems are concerned, the USSR's constructive approaches to resolving them are known. We favor the complete elimination of chemical weapons as soon as possible and the destruction for good of the production base for building these weapons. We are ready at any time to halt nuclear testing, if the United States will do the same. We are against building any types of space weapons whatsoever and are in favor of the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of other countries and the simultaneous disbanding of both alliances in Europe and, as a first step, the elimination of their military organizations.

Without question, the problems of disarmament are difficult, complex, and voluminous. Their resolution requires much intense, responsible work. The joint search for a solution, step by step, is strengthening universal security and peace. You will agree, it is worth working for this.

In answering your question on the eve of the visit to Great Britain, I emphasized the need to build up the potential of trust. The visit has strengthened this thought in me even more. I would only add this: In building up the potential of trust, it is important to do everything possible to realize it.

Petrovskiy Comments on Talks With Austria

LD0808125589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Political consultations have taken place in Vienna between representatives of the Foreign Ministries of the Soviet Union and Austria. Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, who took part in them, said in an interview for our correspondent:

[Begin Petrovskiy recording] I think we can say with every justification that the political relations between the Soviet Union and Austria are developing as relations between partners committed to the building of a nonnuclear, nonviolent world and the creation of a common home for Europe. The political consultations with the top people at the Foreign Ministry show that on the main, I would say on virtually all, rather than on just international problems and European problems, our policies and main approaches coincide. Both the Soviet Union and Austria are equally committed to ensuring that security in the world and on the European Continent is based on the foundations of the primacy of law, on the basis of resolving all (?problems) that arise by political means, and what is very important is that both the Soviet Union and Austria are operating today as partners in international affairs and (?in a number of cases) are even coauthors of common ideas and proposals. [end recording]

Spadolini Says Gorbachev Needs Show of Support

PM0908114789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Morning Edition p4

[TASS report: "The West Also Bears Responsibility for What Is Happening in the USSR, the President of the Italian Senate Believes"]

[Text] Rome, 7 Aug—Giovanni Spadolini, president of the Italian Senate, said in an interview with the newspaper IL MESSAGGERO that perestroyka in the Soviet Union has now reached its most dramatic and in some respects its most inspiring period.

It is impossible to make predictions, he continued, but Soviet reformism is the most significant event of recent years this century. The West, meaning the whole of mankind, bears inevitable responsibility for what is happening in the Soviet Union. It would be a great mistake to confine ourselves to applauding M.S. Gorbachev from afar and not make him feel he has our real political solidarity. We should not forget that his becoming head of the Soviet leadership has had significant consequences for world politics and that the failure of perestroyka would have consequences on the same scale, but in the opposite direction. This thought concerns all governments and also those political forces which adhere to communist principles, starting with the Italian Communist Party, which M.S. Gorbachev has given the incentive to radically renew its political essence.

Answering a question about the correlation between events in the Soviet Union and the continuation of talks between East and West, G. Spadolini said that we should try to avoid any slowing down of talks between East and West as a result of tension within the Soviet Union. We must do exactly the opposite and speed up this dialogue as much as possible—naturally, with respect for the security requirements of other states.

Positively assessing the recent meeting in Paris between Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, the president of the Senate expressed the wish that there be a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush before December this year.

FRG Republic Party Leader Interviewed

LD0908190689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Aug 89

[From "The Camera Looks at the World" program: interview with Franz Schoenhuber, chairman of the FRG's Republic Party, by program presenter Dmitriy Biryukov; date, place not given—recorded; Schoenhuber speaks in German with superimposed Russian translation, except where indicated]

[Text] [Biryukov] Mr Schoenhuber, may I rely on your honesty, even if my questions may seem awkward to you?

[Schoenhuber, in Russian] Of course.

[Biryukov] There are some dates in the history of Europe—1 September 1939, 22 June 1941, 8-9 May 1945—how do you evaluate them?

[Schoenhuber] Truly fateful connections exist between Russians and Germans. This is partly from territorial proximity, the geographical situations of our countries. We are a people in the center of Europe. In this sense, we are neither Westerners nor Easterners. We belong to both parts of Europe. I myself served, I saw a great deal in the war. I understand that the scars of the Soviet Union are fresh and sore. During the war, you suffered many horrors, but that does not mean that someone experienced them and someone else did not. Whoever has been a soldier becomes a true fighter for peace because he knows all the horrors of the war.

The fact that I am sitting here holding a discussion about the dates you have named, is connected with the fact that I am unambiguously a successor to Bismarck. It was precisely Bismarck, a great statesman in our history, who said that without accord with Russia, Germany cannot survive. I am an anticommunist, but I am a friend of the Russians. That is a substantial difference.

[Biryukov] There have been the most varied political traditions in Germany in the 20th century. To which tradition do you consider your part to be the successor?

[Schoenhuber] Looking back at the political path that has been covered, I would give the year 1848. This was the first attempt to create a free, independent, and democratic Germany. I am a republican, and I cannot be a successor to the Kaiser's empire. This flows from my political aims. Moreover, I cannot be a supporter of Hitler because Hitler dragged not only us, but the whole of humanity into a huge catastrophe. My party now is searching for its own path in special circumstances, since there are many attacks on us. I think that our path is also remarkable because we believe that nothing is eternal in the world. Gorbachev also has expressed himself in similar terms. Today's bonds may tomorrow find themselves in a completely different place.

I would like for Germany and Soviet Union to cooperate on the basis of peace accords, as this, in fact happened recently. It is very easy to guide our people toward this, but perhaps less exultation in honor of Mr Gorbachev and fewer youths who avidly demonstrate would be more useful for business.

[Biryukov] In your view, is there anyone further to the right than your party in the FRG today?

[Schoenhuber] The party at which you are hinting is not democratic. It has already been stressed at the press conference that we will give up our pretensions as a party if we are considered as one and the same as the parties of which you speak. I have in mind the German People's Union and the National Democratic Party. We have nothing in common with these people. In the NATIONALZEITUNG newspaper there are very often attacks on us; 2 days ago a bundle of accusations was put forward to the effect that we are national traitors.

[Biryukov] What are your basic differences with the parties on the left?

[Schoenhuber] The words on the left, on the right, have become obsolete in their own right; that is the buttocks theory, if you will excuse the expression. There are republicans who, in our social understanding, may be considered on the left, on environmental questions, for example. However, on the question of national reunification we, in the classical scheme of things, are on the right. The Greens yesterday stated that they reject a nuclear power station for the same reasons we do, insofar as this would inflict very grave damage on the environment. However, there are other points where we do not have and will not find a common language. I feel that all democratic parties should, as necessary, enter into coalitions with one another. If we were not always kept in isolation, then even more people would come to us.

[Biryukov] What is your view on the reasons for the successful advance of your party?

[Schoenhuber] I am convinced that we are now the youngest party in terms of age. Seventy percent of our members are younger than 30. Young people are searching for an ideal. It is not that important to them today to travel and holiday in Majorca. What is important to them is to find themselves. I think that people already have grown weary of the parties that traditionally have asserted themselves in our society. They speak of the same thing all the time; they promise the same thing all the time and they do not fulfill any promises. In my view, that is the main reason for our success. I firmly believe that as the fifth party, or even the fourth—because I do not really see the Free Democratic Party, starting from now—we have occupied a place in the political spectrum. I will also say the same with pleasure in Moscow, too, because Moscow is not on another planet.

Paper Examines FRG-Polish Border Issue

18070712 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 9

[Article by Valentin Zapevalov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent in Bonn, under the rubric "Behind the Scenes of Events": "Once Again About the German Reich"]

[Text] Hans Klein, who is usually self-restrained and tactful, was beside himself: "What is happening here is simply laughable! It is irresponsible."

The manager of the press and information department of the federal government was beside himself as a result of an announcement by the well-known scientist Karl Kaiser. This director of the institute of the German society on questions of international policy allowed himself to assert that Konrad Adenauer, former chancellor of the FRG, recognized the Oder-Neisse line in the 1950's as the eastern border with Poland. This happened, according to the words of the scientist, during negotiations with Western allies on the future of Germany in the event of its unification.

A sensation? Yes, if one recalls what kinds of squabbles had to be endured by the government of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] and the FDP [Free Democratic Party] on the occasion of the signing of the treaty between the FRG and Poland in 1970. At that time members of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] and the CSU [Christian Social Union] accused Chancellor Willi Brandt of all kinds of things, even branding him with the label of "betrayer of German interests." And, as it becomes clear, all because of what Adenauer, the spiritual father of the conservatives, had agreed to earlier. The firmness of the borders with Poland were emphasized in the Warsaw Treaty.

As a matter of fact, today Adenauer's successor, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who is also a representative of the CDU, says the same, as well as the entire CDU/CSU bloc. Recently both Kohl and Minister of Foreign Affairs Genscher once again demonstratively confirmed the correctness of the Bonn treaty with Poland. They declared outright that the FRG is for the preservation of the existing borders in Europe, seeing this as a prerequisite for ensuring peace on the continent.

But why did the question of borders once again take on such urgency in Bonn? And why is Hans Klein troubled? Because differently minded people have appeared in the ranks of the federal government, and not some kind of a political pawn, but Minister of Finance Theodor Waigel. He is an intelligent and experienced politician, a successor to Strauss in the post of chairman of the CSU. However this time, a sense of proportion—I will express myself even more sharply—sense of responsibility has changed Waigel. In a race for the votes of the extreme right, voters who are being drawn from the CSU by the revanchist-racist sirens of the republicans—a new conservative party on the FRG political horizon—Waigel went to the regular meeting of the assemblage "Association of Germans in Silesia" where he openly came out for a "German reich in 1937 borders."

Irresponsible? Undoubtedly. That is the belief of an absolute majority of the members of the federal cabinet and leading politicians of the conservative-liberal coalition. "Whoever thinks about or reflects on eastern borders that existed in 1937 damages our efforts for the creation of a free Germany on the basis of two free states," believes Hans Gunter (Hoppe), chairman of the Bundestag committee on internal German relations. "As a member of the federal cabinet, Waigel should know that the existing law on international rights is above internal state decisions," declared Igon Bar, a member of the Presidium of the SPD. The removal of Waigel from the post of minister was demanded by a group of cultural figures led by Gunter Grass.

Well, and what about Klein? He demands proof from Professor Kaiser that Adenauer actually recognized the Polish borders. Kaiser is not in Bonn. He is on vacation outside the FRG and therefore, incidentally, I was not able to contact him. The professor promises, however, to reveal his sources soon.

V. Karpov Receives Dutch Official

LD0908171289 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Consultations with Hendrik Wagenmakers, the Dutch Foreign Minister's director for U.N. political affairs, were held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry on August 8-9. A thorough exchange of opinions was held on a broad range of international problems, including questions of the forthcoming 44th session of the U.N. General Conference.

Wagenmakers was received by Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Viktor Karpov.

Explosion Halts Gas Supplies to Finland

LD0808182389 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] The gas explosion in the Soviet Union early in the summer has cut off liquid gas supplies to Finland. Neste [state oil and gas enterprise] has had to replace the liquid gas, which comes by rail from the Porvoo refinery, with natural gas. Supplies of liquid gas through Hamina port are also at a standstill. Soviet authorities have announced that supplies will be resumed in the fall at the earliest. In Finland it is suspected that repairs will go on into next year. Difficulties will be most likely to occur next winter, when consumption of natural gas usually reaches its peak.

Continuing Trial of Turkish Communists Noted

PM0908093389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Court's Latest Sitting"]

[Text] Ankara, 2 Aug—The latest sitting in the case against H. Kutlu and N. Sargin, leaders of the United Turkish Communist Party [UTCP], was held in the Ankara State Security Court today. The Turkish Communist Party Program and a number of its brochures were read out as "tangible proof" in the prosecution's case.

Speaking at the conclusion of the reading out of the documents, UTCP General Secretary Haydar Kutlu declared that, with no elements of crime being discovered in the party program, attempts are now made to sentence the leaders of Turkish Communists to death for belonging to the UTCP and for trying to legalize its activity in Turkey.

Political & Social

Estonian Election Law Prompts Strikes

PM0908160189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[L. Levitskiy article: "In an Atmosphere of Sharp Debate"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA already reported the unusual proceedings at the 12th session of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation. It opened 24 July and, after examining some of the questions, broke off its work. The recess was due to a growing parliamentary conflict. The draft Law on Local Soviet Elections submitted for discussion at the session had exacerbated the situation in the republic. A considerable proportion of the Russian-speaking population perceived it as an infringement of its rights.

It was in this atmosphere that the Supreme Soviet session opened. At the request of deputies from labor collectives, the adoption of a decision on the draft law was postponed for 2 weeks so that this time could be used in an attempt either to find a common viewpoint on the disputed provisions or at least to narrow the gap between positions. On that same day the Russian-speaking deputies announced the creation of their own group and requested that its representatives be included on the drafting commission. A commission was set up, headed by A. Ryuytel, chairman of Estonia's Supreme Soviet Presidium, to discuss the demands of rally participants and the collectives of over 20 enterprises which had stopped work. Social organizations, created primarily among the Estonian population, also stated their positions. Essentially, what ensued was a fresh discussion of the draft law. Initially, the drafting commission almost succeeded in finding mutually acceptable formulations of the provisions. But opinions on the residence qualification diverged again on the eve of the session.

After almost 5 hours of arguments, two versions of the article on the right to vote and be elected were formulated. First: To give the right to vote to all citizens who have reached the age of 18 years and have lived either 2 years in a given location or 5 years in Estonia. The residence qualification for candidate deputies was raised to 5 years and 10 years respectively. This version was supported by 34 persons.

Under the second version, the residence qualification was applicable only to candidate deputies and varied between 6 months and 5 years, at the discretion of the city or rayon soviet itself. Eight deputies voted for the second version. A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, was instructed to submit both versions for discussion by the session which was due to resume its work.

The group of Russian-speaking deputies also discussed the forthcoming session's work schedule and a mechanism for adoption of legislative acts which would guarantee consideration of the ethnic minority's interests. An appropriate document was signed by the group's members before the session. It was then read out to all deputies and referred for examination by the Supreme Soviet's commissions. The essence of the proposals: to officially recognize the Russian-speaking group and to introduce the necessary amendments to the Supreme Soviet's standing orders. All legislative acts must be elaborated with the participation of its representatives. In the event of disagreement, a draft law must be adopted by a qualified majority comprising at least 80 percent of deputies.

But all this is for the future. Heated arguments exploded again at the session around the residence qualification. Generally speaking, the same arguments were repeated, only emotions were more heated. Deputies M. Agur, I. Kutsin, E. Pyldroos, Yu. Aare, A. Ingerman, T. Kork, E. Savisaar, and USSR People's deputies E. Lippmaa, K. Khallik, and Yu. Nugis upheld the need for a residence qualification for the sake of boosting the competence of voters, of deputies, and of local soviets.

V. Ivanov, V. Malkovskiy, and A. Lukoshkin, referring to the way the draft law was prepared, the way it was amended, and the way all compromise proposals had been and were constantly rejected, perceived the law as a deviation from democracy and an assertion of national inequality. On behalf of the Russian-speaking group, P. Panfilov asked that the residence qualification be withdrawn at least for voters, and that it be somewhat relaxed for candidate deputies.

"Otherwise we shall be unable to participate in the voting. We cannot disregard the labor collectives' instructions," he added.

"We probably did not always act correctly, did not always hold sufficient consultations when elaborating documents. This is how the conflict developed. But consider once more what its outcome might be. We cannot give the draft law any national overtones or perceive it as discrimination against some population groups. This is a distorted view," V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, reminded deputies once more of their responsibility for the decision.

As expected, opinions diverged during the vote on the second article of the draft law, providing for the residence qualification. More than 190 deputies voted "for." There were 49 "against." The voting on amendments to the Constitution in the light of the newly adopted Law on Local Soviet Elections produced the following results: 198 deputies "for," 5 "against," and 5 abstentions. Thirty-six deputies refused to take part in the voting.

"The law we adopted today is not the best. It guarantees universal suffrage to virtually all citizens of Estonian nationality. It deprives tens of thousands of people of other nationalities of it," Deputy A. Lukoshkin declared before the session closed.

The question of the possibility of a resumption of strikes also arose at the session.

"We have planned measures to moderate their effects. We submitted to the Supreme Soviet Presidium a draft decree on the resolution of labor disputes. But the government has no information at all about any strikes in the offing," I. Toome, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, replied.

This statement was refuted by M. Lysenko, deputy chairman of the republican council of strike committees and deputy shop chief at the "Elektrotekhnika" Association.

"We suspended the strike in the hope that the labor collectives' proposals would be taken into account to a certain extent. But we were brushed aside. So more than 20 enterprises will again stop work as of 9 August."

The republican staff of strike committees reported that work stopped at 15 of Tallinn's enterprises at 1400 hours Moscow time on 9 August. Rallies are being held in many plants, and decisions are being adopted to organize alternative elections of workers' deputies.

Further on Strikes

LD0908144689 Moscow TASS in English 1430 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Tallinn August 9 ETA-TASS—A number of Estonian industrial enterprises resumed a political strike today which was held from July 24 to July 27, this year. The reason for it was the adoption by a session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet on Tuesday [8 August] of the law on elections to local government bodies (Soviets) which envisages the introduction of a residence requirement for electors and deputies.

According to the Republican Council of Strike Committees, 19 industrial enterprises, mostly those subordinate to union institutions, joined the strike today. Three branches of the Tallinn Automobile Transport Association, two freight railway stations and the civil aviation board also declared a strike. An ETA correspondent was told at the headquarters of the strike committees' Council that the Tallinn Airport was not handling cargo flights.

Participants in the July strike demanded the suspension of some provisions of the law on the language which, in their opinion, infringes upon the rights of the non-Estonian population. They also demanded that an assessment should be given of the citizens' committees created in Estonia by nationalist groups and that a residence requirement for electors and deputies of local soviets should be lifted. Now new demands were added by strikers to these ones.

Mikhail Lysenko, chairman of the Republican Council of Strike Committees, told ETA that the strikers demand the setting up of a union government commission for studying the situation in Estonia.

A group of Russian-speaking deputies, who addressed the session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, regarded the adopted Law on Elections to local government bodies (soviets) as deviation from democracy and the establishment of the inequality of nations. However, the law was adopted in its present form by the majority of votes.

"It is not the best of laws that we have adopted. It guarantees universal suffrage to practically all Estonians and deprives of it tens of thousands of people of other nationalities," Deputy A. Lukoshin said before the end of the session.

Strike Leader Rejects Talks

PM1008080989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

["Own information" report under the general heading: "Reports From Estonia"]

[Text] Tallinn, 9 Aug—Today, when the inhabitants of Estonia familiarized themselves in the press with materials from the republic's Supreme Soviet session, a strike situation again emerged in the city. Bus drivers stopped work in the morning. By midday production had stopped at 15 enterprises. At 2200 Moscow time collectives comprising machine builders, railroad workers, airmen, and others were striking at 22 enterprises.

Here is what M. Lysenko, chairman of the republic strike committee council and deputy shop chief at the "Elektrotekhnika" association, said:

"The reason for the resumption of the strike was the session's adoption of a law on local soviet elections stipulating a residence qualification. Essentially this is not a democratic law. It deprives tens of thousands of people from Estonia's nonindigenous population of their voting rights. In their speeches deputies from the Russian-speaking group asked for the article under discussion on residence qualifications to be somehow toned down. But the overwhelming majority of Estonian deputies made no attempt to meet the parliamentary minority halfway. Moreover, during the session offensive terms were used to describe the Russian-speaking population."

M. Lysenko also stated that the strike committee council, having analyzed the prevailing situation, has decided if necessary to expand the scale of the strike. Moreover, a decision has been made to hold no further talks with the republic leadership owing to a lack of confidence in them, and to ask the center to set up a government commission empowered to immediately resolve this protracted conflict. Rallies are being held at plants where the idea of organizing alternative elections of worker deputies is being approved.

Program Analyzes Developments in Estonia
LD0808222389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 8 August broadcasts a 60-minute program in the series entitled: "What is Happening in Estonia?"

This program opens with a film clip of a mass demonstration, which is returned to at intervals during the program. The announcer explains that, whereas the previous program in this series on 27 July dealt with official views on financial autonomy, this program will cover the widest range of views on both economic and political issues affecting Estonia.

Marju Lauristin of the People's Front, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is the first of a series of interviewees who appear on the program. She criticizes the past lack of an attitude based on ownership. Referring specifically to ecological problems, she asserts that there has to be a body that has the common interest in mind. Central departments in Moscow should not be allowed to determine the site of industrial development without taking account of local circumstances.

Vladimir Yarovoy, peoples' deputy from the United Council of Labor Collectives, UCLC, the organization behind the recent strikes by Russian-speaking workers, criticizes the language law and the activities of the People's Front, which, he says, have led to divisions in society.

Klara Hallik of the People's Front, a USSR Supreme Soviet member, agrees that the language law does impinge upon the interests of the non-Estonian population—if they have not bothered to learn Estonian before. Estonians have always had to learn Russian, she points out.

Yarovoy goes into the background of the establishment of the UCLC and its aim to show that the republic benefits from its Russian workers. He is critical of those who seek self-isolation.

The announcer goes on to mention the attitudes of "ultras" on both sides of the Estonian-Russian argument. On a Tallinn street, he interviews a man who is carrying a pre-Soviet Estonian flag. The man says he is going to a demonstration marking the 49th anniversary of the occupation of Estonia on 17 June 1940. T. Velliste of the Society for the Preservation of the National Heritage asserts, in a separate street interview, that Estonia never joined the USSR, because the manner of its entry was illegal.

In her interview, Lauristin refers to the problem of history. She says the situation in 1939-1940 has to be tackled. The Zhdanov ultimatum to the Estonian Government at that time left the Estonians with no free choice. This was not a revolutionary situation, but a situation of occupation.

A clip of the laying of a cable for the National Library in Tallinn is shown as evidence of the People's Front's ability to mobilize popular support for common goals.

Velliste offers a definition of Estonian citizenship—applicable to those who were citizens of Estonia up to 17 June 1940 and their descendants—and claims that it is a purely legal definition, as it encompasses those Russians who were already citizens at that time.

A. Saar, a sociologist, talks about the worries of various groups in Estonia, using a pie chart to indicate political affiliations among non-Estonians, from a poll which asked for participants' preferred party or movement. The Communist Party of Estonia and the UCLC come out on top, with 33.86 percent and 25.20 percent respectively; the Intermovement has 14.96 percent, the Greens 9.45 percent, the People's Front 3.15 percent; various other groups have smaller shares. A similar chart for the Estonian population shows the People's Front with over half the support and the Communist Party with about a quarter; four other groupings have less than a quarter among them. The latter pie chart is not shown clearly enough for precise figures to be given.

Lauristin, asked about concerns among non-Estonians, argues that economic modernization is the paramount task; ethnic aspects are incidental. The planned economic reform contains social guarantees. She stresses the need for retaining and the need to distinguish between ethnic problems and those affecting the whole of society.

Yevgeniy Kogan of the Intermovement criticizes what he calls the insulting antics of the People's Front and says what his organization is about: Protecting the rights of the Russian population and democratizing society. The economic aspects of financial autonomy are welcome, not so some political points. He fears the "priority" being given to the native population.

Lauristin, talking about the concept of "priority," says that the Estonians have a "priority" to develop their culture, just as do the Russians.

Kogan warns of the consequences of ignoring "us": If Estonia goes its own way, regions with a Russian-speaking population will split off from it.

Hallik expresses her view of "priority": The task is not to allow an economic policy that violates the integrity of the Estonian cultural system.

Kogan voices fears of anti-immigrant brigades in the People's Front, citing the case in May of this year of an Estonian caught importing tear gas.

V. Rikkas, Estonia's deputy interior minister, agrees that the People's Front has officials looking after law and order, but denies the existence of anti-immigrant outfits. Investigations into the tear gas importer show that he has a record of committing such acts for financial gain; there is no political motive to his act.

A "Vremya" dispatch of 27 July on the strikes by Russian-speaking workes is rerun.

Estonian leaders Ruutel and Valjas are interviewed together. The former stresses the need for radical economic reform. The latter ctiticizes past intensive methods of running the economy and asserts that there must be no infringement of any group's rights: Estonia must be home for all.

The final part of the program shows Ruutel and his colleagues meeting a delegation of the Russian workers who have suspended their strike for the duration of the negotiations. A closing screen caption says: "We wish the participants in the negotiations the achievement of complete mutual understanding."

Estonian Party Drafts Interethnic Platform

18001393 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 27 Jun 89 pp 1,3

["Platform of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia on the Question of Improving Interethnic Relations"—SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA headline]

[Text] **In keeping with the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the CPSU has begun preparations for the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the question of improving interethnic relations. The need for radical improvement of these relations and their democratization has long been crucial and today it is clearly recognized. How fairly and democratically our common multinational home will be built will depend largely on the success of perestroyka. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, when considering improvement of interethnic relations in the republic and democratization of relations within the framework of the Soviet federation as one of the most important areas of its political activity, considers it necessary to begin a broad exchange of opinions on this issue in the party.**

The proposed draft of the platform presents the position of the Communist Party of Estonia [CPE] in the area of its ethnic policy. In bringing it up for discussion by communists and nonparty members, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia will strive to enlist the public in the development of the platform of the Communist Party of Estonia for the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

I. INITIAL PROVISIONS

The USSR as a union of sovereign national republics unites historically developed ethnic groups which are important subjects of social life. A condition for the effective development of the USSR is that its policy correspond to the interests of the ethnic groups included in it. The guarantee of the dynamic and stable development of the union as a whole lies in the possibility of the free development of each ethnic group. The basis of the development of the ethnic groups is their sovereignty, equal rights, and openness to contacts.

The ethnic problems that have been aggravated recently were conditioned not only by partial omissions or individual mistakes. They were generated by the entire system of administrative-state socialism. Attempts to eliminate ethnic groups as objectively historical subjects from society have turned out to be ruinous not only for the ethnic groups but also for society as a whole. The weakening of the viability and tenacity of the society is explained to a considerable degree by the undermining of the ethnic factor. Departure from Leninist principles of national policy strengthened the social and political base of the administrative system and contributed to antidemocratic principles of state management and political life as a whole. Democratization of national policy is a key issue in the current stage of revolutionary restructuring. Whether the disconnection (disintegration) of society will continue or its unity will become stronger on the platform of perestroyka will depend on strategic solutions to the ethnic issue.

The strategic reorientation of the ethnic factor and its reassessment, in our opinion, should be the goal of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. To do this it is necessary:

1. To recognize the ethnic group as one of the most important subjects of social life, the basis of the sovereignty of each subject of the federation and the USSR as a whole.

2. To recognize the legitimacy of the multivariant development of ethnic groups and ethnic-state formations under the conditions of socialism. The power of the USSR lies in the development of each union republic.

3. To recognize the contractual basis of the Soviet federation and the Union agreement as the source of federal law.

4. To reinforce the independence of republic party organizations under the conditions of expansion of the competence and the sovereign rights of the union republics. The openness of the CPE [Communist Party of

Estonia] to contacts with the world communist movement and ties within the CPSU, independence in conducting tactical policies, and the right to develop its own program documents for the basic areas of the activity of the CPE do not contradict the ideological and organizational unity of the CPSU but strengthen it.

5. To make an assessment and draw conclusions from the practice of national-state construction in the USSR; to reveal the causes of mistakes in the ethnic policy; to earmark concrete ways of rectifying them.

II. ETHNIC PROBLEMS IN THE USSR AND ESTONIA

Ethnic problems in Estonia have mainly historico-political roots. Over a half century the ethnic homogeneity in Estonia has decreased by a factor of 9. One can see a clear tendency to transform Estonians into an ethnic minority. There have been undesirable structural changes and a distortion of the ethnic-social system: In Estonia there have appeared entire regions and spheres of activity from which the indigenous ethnic group is excluded and where the Estonian language is practically not used.

The result of the extensive economic development has been a reduction of the proportion of the indigenous ethnic group in the working class, including in branches that have been developing for more than a century in Estonia. The proportion of Estonians in the CPE is also decreasing. In the republic there has been a tendency toward ethnic segregation, which has already led to a number of negative consequences in interethnic relations.

The cost-oriented economy and migration have had a fatal effect on the environment. As a result all residents of the republic suffer and, moreover, the Estonians lose the feeling of being "at home" in their native land, which leads to more interethnic tension.

The Russian-speaking population of Estonia is extremely diverse. A considerable proportion of them are working at enterprises under union jurisdiction which are poorly integrated into the republic's economy. Hence the social and cultural isolation and the spreading of a number of false stereotypes among a certain part of them. Departmental isolation impedes normal satisfaction of their cultural and other needs, including in the sphere of education, which leads to further opposition of national interests.

The demand of ethnic extremists for unconditional separation of Estonia from the USSR cannot provide any real solution to all these problems.

Restriction of migration as well as the elimination of its causes (departmental prejudice, extensive economy) have become a question of the existence of the Estonian ethnic group, which has required measures for state protection of its interests. Such measures, since they stabilize the situation, are advantageous to all of the republic's population.

What do these protective measures mean in the context of the ethnic policy of the party and the state?

The initial principle of the policy should be the right of ethnic groups to self-determination, which was proclaimed as early as 1917 by the Soviet Government in the declaration of the rights of the ethnic groups of Russia and adopted by the United Nations as an international legal norm in 1948 and 1966. Self-determination is the pivotal point of all the rights of ethnic groups. The concept and the list of ethnic rights should be registered in a union agreement and the constitutions of the USSR and the republics.

It is necessary to clearly determine the procedures for the application of the rights of nations to self-determination, and the rights of nations as social rights should be regarded as the basis of the political rights of the republics. In the constitutions of the union republics and in union legislation one should stipulate the spheres and cases for the application of the procedure for adopting decisions related to the realization of the rights of ethnic groups. The indigenous ethnic group has exclusive rights to determine its own cultural and social policy (child rearing, education, and also the determination of the rules of language communication on its own ethnic territory). Indigenous ethnic groups and nationalities on their ethnic territory should be guaranteed the right to reject decisions of an economic, social, or ecological nature if they are a direct threat to the existence of the ethnic group and its historical way of life. The application of such a procedure, by guaranteeing the observance of the interests of the indigenous ethnic group, makes it impossible to impose on the entire society decisions that are unacceptable to it.

Ethnic rights must not be confused with civil rights. The former pertain only to the ethnic group as a whole and add nothing to the civil rights of each individual representative of it. In the legal sense all citizens of the republic have absolutely equal rights. Consequently, the rights of the ethnic groups must protect the ethnic group as a totality only from activities of state political institutions that pose a danger to the ethnic group. In the future the institution of republic citizenship will encourage the adaptation of the nonindigenous population to the conditions of the social and cultural life of the national republic. This will lead to a natural integration of society, which does not rule out its ethnocultural diversity. In this case the utilization of legal procedures based on the rights of ethnic groups will gradually lose their significance. Its application can be justified only by exceptional circumstances. The rights of the ethnic groups that protect them as total formations will encourage the openness of ethnic groups to external contacts and contribute to the mutual spiritual enrichment of the peoples. Therefore, the laws on citizenship and language are intended not to differentiate the representatives of various ethnic groups but to create incentives for national-cultural integration of the representatives of various ethnic groups.

The adoption of republic laws on language makes it superfluous to legally determine the position of the Russian language since the status of the language of international communication is assigned to the Russian language not because of a right but because of the conditions of language communication. Our country, striving to overcome its isolation from the outside world, needs a program of study of world languages, a program for mastery of the culture of interethnic communication.

The complex ethnic composition of the USSR and the existence of a large number of disparate ethnic groups makes the question of the forms of representation of the national interests of these groups crucial. One of the possibilities of realizing the rights of the ethnic groups could be cultural autonomy, which means the right of self-management organs to create ethnic formations and also the obligation of the indigenous ethnic groups to create conditions for ethnic and cultural self-management of ethnic groups. In the event of cultural autonomy ethnic groups are not subjects of self-determination. This can be done only by complete ethnic formations on their own territory.

Cultural autonomy presupposes the right to study in one's own language. At the same time it is expedient for study in the republics to be conducted according to unified republic programs. It should include the study of the language, culture, and history of the indigenous nation. Herein lies one of the important elements of integration of the republic population according to the principles of complete internationalism.

Each republic also has special historico-political aspects of interethnic relations that are associated primarily with the need to overcome the Stalinist great power policy. For the Baltic peoples there is an especially crucial need for a clearcut historical and political assessment of the events of 1939-1940. For the peoples of the Baltic area this is a question of confidence in the Soviet power and only complete historical truth can return and strengthen this confidence.

III. THE STATE-LEGAL BASIS OF THE SOVIET FEDERATION

The legal basis of the restructuring of ethnic relations in the USSR ensues from Lenin's concept of the USSR as a voluntary, mutually advantageous association of sovereign states. For purposes of democratization of the Soviet federation we consider it necessary:

1. The development and adoption of a new union agreement on the following principles:

the construction of the USSR and its organs from below to above;

the delegation by union republics as sovereign subjects of the federation of part of their rights to the competence of the USSR;

delegation to the center of integrative functions (defense, foreign policy, some of the foreign economic ties, transportation, communications, energy engineering, and so forth) and also the authority which can expediently be exercised jointly at the all-union level: ecological, economic, scientific, and other such programs;

the union agreement registers the procedure for the application of the right of self-determination and gives a list of the rights of nations on their ethnic territory and the procedures for the application of these rights.

2. The adoption on the basis of the union agreement and the constitutions of the union republics of a new USSR Constitution which establishes a clear delimitation of the competence of the USSR, the union and autonomous republics, and other ethnic-state and ethnic-territorial formations and determines the limits of the exclusive competence of the USSR and the union republics. The foundations of the legislation of the USSR and the union republics should determine only the principles and establish general principles for the corresponding branch of legislation.

3. The insurance of the independence of the union republics in the formation of local authority which reflects the peculiarities of the territory and culture.

4. The recognition that legislative organs of the union republics have the right to invalidate acts of the higher management organs if they contradict the interests of the republics and the development of procedures for overcoming such conflicts.

5. The adoption of republic laws on citizenship that are based on principles of equal rights of Soviet citizens and international human rights agreements. In addition to common rights and responsibilities, the republics determine the specific norms of citizenship arising from their historico-cultural peculiarities. A citizen of the republic is at the same time a citizen of the USSR.

6. A change in the nature of the formation of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the transformation of the Soviet of Nationalities into the Soviet of Republics, and the insurance of equal representation for the union republics in it. To develop a procedure for the adoption of legislative decisions in the Soviet of the Republics through republic delegations.

7. To support the idea of the creation in the supreme soviets of the union republics which have autonomous ethnic formations chambers for representation of their interests—soviets of nationalities.

8. To develop a legal mechanism for changing the status of ethnic-state and ethnic-territorial formations.

9. To expand the rights of the republic in the development of their foreign ties and relations both within the union and with foreign countries. To introduce exchange of representatives among union republics and also republic representatives abroad and representatives of foreign countries in the republics.

10. To transform the central information organs (press, radio, television) into unionwide organs with combined editorial boards which present information from all union republics.

11. To democratize the construction of all unionwide social and other organizations, creative and other unions and movements in keeping with the principle of "union of unions," an example of which is the new structure of the USSR Union of Cinematographers.

12. To extend the principles of self-management and regional responsibility not only to reciprocal relations between the union republics and the center but also to all territorial formations of the USSR in general.

13. To staff forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as a rule, according to the regional-territorial principle. To raise the question of the expediency of the creation of regional military formations, which would contribute to a positive change [in the attitude] of many USSR nationalities toward service in the Soviet Army.

IV. ECONOMIC ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE UNION REPUBLIC

1. Economic accountability [khozraschet] of the union republics is the economic basis of their sovereignty. A consistently realized principle of regional economic accountability presupposes many variants of economic activity and its organization and management. The economic mechanism of each union republic should rely on its capabilities and should reflect the specific conditions of its development.

2. Economic accountability of the union republic is a socioeconomic system based on self-management that functions basically under conditions of self-regulation, cost recovery, self-financing and independence of management. The property of the union republic is independent and is a separate part of the property of the USSR.

3. The economic mechanism of the union republic develops on the basis of the socialist market. Republic markets are organically included in the union and world markets.

4. The economic accountability of the union republic relies on a diversity of forms of property and an organizational diversity. The state provides equal conditions for the development of all forms of property and uses economic levers for overcoming the alienation of the producers from state and other forms of public property.

5. The land, minerals, air space over the territory of the republic, the internal and territorial waters, the continental shelf, the forests, and other natural wealth are the exclusive property of the union republic.

6. The republic has equal rights partnership relations with other union republics. It forms its own budget which is not included in the budget of the USSR. The economically accountable union republic fulfills its obligations to the union budget through payment of a union tax of the basis of long-term normatives.

V. THE ROLE OF THE CPSU IN IMPROVING INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

The most important tasks of the CPSU—to reflect and defend the most essential and common interests of the Soviet people—should be coordinated with the expansion of the organizational independence of the party organizations of the union republics. While rejecting the federative principle of party construction we see the reason for the appearance of the administrative-centralist system in the merging of party-political and state functions and structures. The CPSU must remain the ideological and political integrator of the society, concentrating attention on the development of general political concepts in the area of interethnic relations.

In party political activity it is necessary to distinguish general political and strategic problems and issues that pertain to the sphere of the political competence of specific party organs, for party organizations at any level must express general human and general class interests. But in questions of tactics there must be complete independence of republic, kray, and oblast party organizations.

While raising the question of the need for freedom of choice of concrete forms of strengthening the leading role of the CPSU in the society, one should revise the narrow and nonhistorical interpretation of the resolution of the 10th Congress of the All-Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) "On Party Unity." In the party there should be a diversity of opinions, approaches, and platforms and a democratic discussion among them which will make it possible to take into account more fully the specific features of regional party organizations and their social and ethnic composition. Under the conditions of the deep democratization of the society, the party can preserve its role as the vanguard only under the condition that it is transformed into a more democratic political institution and under the condition that the most creative and healthy forces of the society are enlisted to aid the general party cause. Here, of course, the fundamental principle of democratic party construction—the principle of democratic centralism—must retain all of its significance. In order to avoid the costs of intraparty pluralism it is necessary to study the question of the adoption of general party decisions not only by the majority but also by a consensus.

It is necessary to discuss the norms and nature of the representation of the communist parties of the union republics in the CPSU Central Committee but it seems important to refrain from an actual legally mandatory combination of certain state, economic, and other posts with election to central party organs. One might also think about electing some of the members of the CPSU Central Committee from republic organizations directly at congresses of the communist parties of the union republics and the rest at the CPSU congress from among the congress delegates.

Taking into account the importance of the ethnic policy, we suggest introducing the position of secretary of the CPSU Central Committee for questions of the ethnic policy and creating within the CPSU Central Committee a permanent commission for questions of the party ethnic policy and the corresponding division of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee staffed by representatives of the communist parties of the union republics. We should also discuss the question of the expediency of a kind of council of first secretaries of central committees of the communist parties of the union republics that is authorized to discuss, along with the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, the most important issues of CPSU policy.

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The forthcoming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on questions of the party ethnic policy is attracting an immense amount of attention from communists and all Soviet people. The discussion that has begun in the party and the society of the problems of interethnic relations in the country and the objective processes taking place in this sphere show that the CPSU and the Soviet state have come up against a task of great difficulty which demands a responsible approach to its solution. It seems obvious to us that the sphere of the ethnic policy and ethnic relations in the USSR is in need not of partial repair but of radical reconstruction. The fate of perestroyka will depend on how this is conducted.

Estonian Conference Discusses Komsomol Problems

PM2007120389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 16 Jun 89 p 1

[ETA-attributed R. Amos report: "Quo Vadis, Komsomol?"]

[Text] A conference of secretaries for ideology matters and chiefs of organizational departments from rayon and city party committees and first secretaries of rayon and city Estonian Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] committees was held at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 15 June. The topic of the conference was the present state and future prospects of the republican Komsomol organization.

M. Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, noted in his introductory report that there is no need to overdramatize the crisis situation within the Komsomol. Everyone is well aware of the causes of its emergence, and now it is necessary to seek a correct way out of the prevailing situation.

The conference heard the idea that a number of other youth movements and hobby clubs ought to function in parallel with the Komsomol as an organization shaping and educating future party members. The positive experience of our immediate neighbors in Scandinavia ought to be adopted in this sphere.

Many trends affecting the party in the era of democratization are now also typical of the Komsomol. Komsomol workers were groomed for a party career, and they lacked the need and at times even the willingness to become proper youth leaders. The Komsomol's activity is largely determined by financial potential. This potential is very limited in the conditions of excessive centralization, when all funds are distributed by Moscow.

It would be expedient to take the path of depoliticizing the Komsomol organization and laying the foundations of a clear-cut state youth policy. The state could guarantee the allocation of financial resources to the most viable young people's organizations and movements.

At this point in time, the paramount task of the republican Komsomol is to solve not global theoretical problems but real and pressing questions affecting young people in cities, rayons, villages, and settlements. Apparatus officials must function along all avenues of young people's interests.

V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, expressed the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's view of the state of affairs in the republic's Komsomol organization. He also answered numerous questions from those present.

Party and Komsomol leaders expressed their views in the ensuing conversation. They also made a number of specific proposals for the future.

E. Cherevashko, chief of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational-Party and Cadre Work Department, and U. Laanem, first secretary of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee, took part in the conference's work.

Otsason Replaced as Estonian Gosplan Chief
PM2107121289

[Editorial Report] Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 July 1989 pub;ishes on page 3 two Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees dated 6 July. The first resolves:

"To appoint Reyn Augustovich Otsason deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, releasing him from his duties as deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Estonian SSR State Planning Committee."

The second resolves:

"To appoint Edgar Elmarovich Savisaar deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Estonian SSR State Planning Committee."

Aftereffects of Kuzbass Strikes Viewed
LD0808193889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent A. Konstantinov from Kemerovo]

[Text] Looking at the lines for laundry soap and sugar, one somehow did not feel as though a great victory was achieved. Is it really the case that a strike, summit meetings, and everything that Kuzbass has been feeling passionately about for so many months was all that was needed to cure this was to have the happy feeling of being the owner of a piece of soap? The same thing is happening throughout the country, but to this very day we do not know whose fault it is that, to take but one example, hard currency has been spent to purchase Soviet-made laundry soap that has disappeared. Local authorities point to their superiors, hiding behind the blunders of the central bodies, while those in the capital are inclined to shift the responsibility to the local authorities, saying that things are more clearly seen on the spot and that they ought to have reacted to them.

As a result, we are compelled—now, in peacetime—to use, almost happily, a ration system for consumer goods and in industry alike, seeing it as the only deliverance—a temporary one—for the time being. In my view, the strike's chief achievement is that it has been shown that the administrative and command system is quite incapable of solving practically any problem. Hence the demands for regional financial autonomy, independence, and freedom writ large, replacing the distribution of happiness according to ration cards.

However, as transpired at today's plenary session of the Kemerovo Oblast CPSU Committee, there is still no precise formula on how to organize the economy in a new way. There is a shortage of fundamental scientific works, there is no high quality research in the sphere of humanitarian sciences; the wish is still strong to live and work as in the old days, without looking to the future and being even oblivious to the realities of the present.

Finally, there are the most painful issues—that of redistributing power, and the prestige of the party organizations in the era of perestroyka, prestige which has now been shaken considerably in the oblast:

[Begin recording] [Konstantinov] (Tivar) Grigoriyevich, what is your assessment of the plenum that has just taken place?

[T.G. Avaliani, chairman of Kemerovo Oblast Workers' Committee; identified by caption] There is no doubt that the results of the plenum still failed to measure up to the demands life is making now. I mean, many people, if they had to address workforces rather than the plenum, would not have been understood.

[Konstantinov] In your speech you said that, to give an example, if the local authorities were incapable of satisfying the worker's demands, if they were incapable of controlling the situation and of ensuring normal conditions for life to go on then, in this case, it makes sense to send in one's resignation, officially. What can you say on this?

[Avaliani] This is what I had in mind: The Kemerovo Oblast Party Committee and the Oblast Executive Committee—and I have copies of these documents... [Avaliani changes thought] I mean they repeatedly posed the question, wrote accurate notes. Over the past 2 and ½ years or so, these bodies probably turned six or seven times to the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. In my view, according to my nature, if I ask someone something once and am simply ignored, and if I ask again and am simply ignored then, in the final analysis, since decisions were taken collectively, they surely ought to have submitted their resignations, this whole group. If the Oblast Party Committee fails to operate understandingly and resigns en masse... [Avaliani changes thougt] Forms such as this ought to be the order of the day now. I think this ought to be the norm of life today. [end recording] [video shows lines, ration cards being cut in exchange for goods]

Slyunkov Discusses Miners Strikes
PM2407141289 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 20 Jul 89 p 2

["E.M." dispatch: "A Lesson For Perestroyka"]

[Text] Prokopyevsk—"Perestroyka is not in danger in the Kuzbass mines," Nikolay Slyunkov said, "but we in Moscow will have to think carefully about what has happened here." Slyunkov, a Politburo member, is Gorbachev's envoy to the miners and for 4 days has conducted negotiations with the workers' committee. Only yesterday he was at a meeting for 3 hours with the miners' representatives before signing a general agreement which the ordinary miners did not accept.

[LA REPUBBLICA] After 4 years of perestroyka, is the protest by the miners who are asking for food, clothing, soap, and decent working conditions a sign of failure?

[Slyunkov] It is the sign of a lag. Here in the Kuzbass, many problems have built up over recent years and we have found a very complex situation. Moreover, we have seen that the perestroyka process, decided at central level to give the country a new policy, has ground to a halt in this region. Old bureaucratic methods are rooted in people's minds, and this explains why the miners can say that perestroyka is making no progress here.

[LA REPUBBLICA] But does the indefinite strike coupled with the call for the resignation of the Prokopyevsk mayor and first secretary, indicate that the working class is not longer prepared to wait?

[Slyunkov] I have been here for some time now and I must stress the high sense of responsibility shown by all Kuzbass workers. For them, resorting to a radical measure like a strike is unnatural. But the area's unsolved problems, the shortages in the stores, and working conditions finally exhausted their patience, prompting this reaction. However, I must say that when I spoke with the workers' committee, I did not hear any political demands. The miners only put foward economic demands.

[LA REPUBBLICA] Are you really prepared to accept all these demands, as you promised?

[Slyunkov] I can say that 95 percent of the workers' objectives are the same as ours. We are aware that there has been some social injustice in the distribution of resources and we want to remedy that. In short, we have found a way of solving the Kuzbass crisis, and I think that the miners will go back to work.

[LA REPUBBLICA] But is the workers' protest not likely to fatally wound perestroyka?

[Slyunkov] No. The workers support perestroyka. Above all, the aim of what they are doing is to speed it up. I would say that at least one third of the questions raised by the miners are against the old bureaucratic methods and in favor of the reform.

Strike Leader on Situation

18220178 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 1

[Interview with the chairman of the Kuzbass Regional Strike Committee, USSR People's Deputy T.G. Avaliani, by TRUD correspondents Yu. Kotlyarov and N. Nadezhdina: "I Have Confidence in the Working Class"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Chairman of the Kuzbass Regional Strike Committee, USSR People's Deputy T.G. Avaliani responds to the questions of TRUD correspondents.

[TRUD] Teymuraz Georgiyevich, you came to lead the strike committee. Do you believe that the workers had to ensure that their demands were met exactly by way of a strike?

[Avaliani] No, I don't. However, I am sure that the voice of the working class should have been heeded, and long ago. After all, most of the demands made are absolutely fair. We should not have waited until the people resorted to this extreme form of protest because of the complete indifference of those whom they approached both in the center and locally.

For me personally the strike was not much of a surprise. As far as my participation? People whom I did not know called me at the Guryevsk City Ispolkom [soviet executive committee] where I was receiving constituents in my capacity as a USSR people's deputy. They said they were from Kiselevsk, from the city strike committee, and asked me to come and speak there. Passions were at a high pitch at the meeting. They did not like what I said. I said that you do not begin a strike like that. They should have prepared for it in advance, set forth their demands clearly; the demands should have been worked on with the trade union, and only after that should they have been submitted to those on whom meeting them depends.

Could I have refused to come to the oblast conference of strike committees? I am a deputy; the workers have shown their confidence in me by asking me to defend their rights at the Congress of People's Deputies. At that dramatic moment as well I had to be together with them.

At the very first meeting of the strike committee, it was resolved to elect a chairman. I was nominated. I for one believed that a worker should be chairman, and nominated Yuriy Leonidovich Rudolf, drifter from the Kalinin Mine in Prokopyevsk. A majority voted for me. Yura became my deputy.

In analyzing the years of stagnation, many people stress drunkenness, corruption, and so forth. All of this is true. However, it seems to me that the main, the very main, and the most frightening fact was that the striving to work well was extinguished. It was easier and simpler to receive a lower plan and a higher salary "through friends." What about work? It can wait.

As I see it, these are the root causes of current difficulties. What is the way out of them? Unshackle the development of productive forces, do away with wage leveling, give to every person, every labor collective an opportunity to give all of their effort and abilities to work without the fear of being cheated.

[TRUD] However, these are exactly the objectives of the economic reform...

[Avaliani] Ideally, it is so. In reality, the reform has been spinning its wheels thus far. The first model of economic accountability was introduced, the second model. People just came to believe in changes, and then all kinds of restrictions hit. We play "games": First, a law is published, and then ministerial instructions follow.

Take a mine. It transfers all of its profit to the association, and the latter may kick back some crumbs with its "master's hand." How can the collective solve social problems and improve the living conditions of its employees? This is why the economic and legal independence of enterprises, reorganization of existing associations into various forms of corporations, other voluntary forms of self-management, and broad-scale utilization of various forms of property of the means of production—state, cooperative, leasing, and joint-stock—are, as I would remind you, the main demand of the miners that the commission arriving here has also agreed to.

[TRUD] How did the talks with the commission of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] proceed? Was it difficult to arrive at a resolution of the issues?

[Avaliani] I believe the talks were constructive and proceeded in the spirit of cooperation. Members of the strike committee, which includes mining foremen, drifters, electrician-fitters, drivers, section chiefs, one chief engineer, and two party committee secretaries, are experienced and competent people who managed to defend their position using facts and arguments. They persuaded [the commission] that only regional economic accountability will make it possible to resolve many issues of their life and work. They agreed with this. However, what kind of economic accountability can there be given current prices for coal? They pay us 3 times less for it than it costs in the world market. They call us in the bargain an unprofitable region that draws state subsidies. However, we understand that the issue of wholesale prices is very complicated, and this is why we agreed that the draft reform of wholesale prices would provide for an increase of those for coal in line with the actual outlays for mining plus complete reclamation of disturbed lands.

Look at what has been done to nature! On an increasing scale, coal is being produced by what is at first sight the cheapest, but the most barbaric and, for our posterity, the most expensive open-pit method. The Kuzbass already has about 100,000 hectares of land dug up by the excavators! In turn, the water balance is disturbed not only at the location of mining operations, but for 40 to 50 kilometers around. This is happening against the background of an acute shortage of water in the oblast...

One more point. Since the 1970's coal production has increased one and a half times here. We provide not only coal, but also metal, chemicals, and other products to other regions. What do we receive? Foodstuffs and consumer goods on the basis of quotas that have been cut back year after year... Children are growing up who, I am ashamed to say, do not know what sweet souffle, pastila [a type of fruit fudge], or jelly cakes are.

So, we suggested: Give us an opportunity to sell output produced in excess of the contracts signed at contract prices both inside the country and abroad. They agreed with us. This is why, once an agreement was reached on the first nine points, we resolved to recommend to city committees to discontinue the strike. This happened on 18 July at 0335 hours. However, one more day was needed before all mines and open-pit mines began to turn out coal.

Meanwhile, the work of the strike committee took its course. We prepared a list of additional proposals that we discussed with the commission. These are the issues that must be resolved at the level of the Council of Ministers, the Supreme Soviet, and maybe even the Congress of People's Deputies. At the same time, relevant work is underway in local soviets of people's deputies, the oblast ispolkom, and the oblast council of trade unions. Demands are being studied and proposals being worked on—they will be the basis of the draft resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers on the socioeconomic development of the Kuzbass in 1990 through 1995, which will be submitted to the government in the fall in keeping with the agreed-upon protocol.

[TRUD] However, in recent years a good number of government decrees for Kemerovo Oblast have been issued, both on the socioeconomic development and ecology. Are you apprehensive that this resolution will also become one of those that is unfulfilled?

[Avaliani] We have no right to let this happen. The strike has been a difficult lesson. It has done serious harm to the country. The miners have also lost a lot: They have not generated profits—that is to say, financial incentive and social development funds have been reduced. I am still convinced that had the local authorities and central offices listened to the people, to the demands of, say, the oblast trade union council, the affair would not have taken this threatening turn. The miners were forced to opt for this form of fighting for their rights, and there is no struggle without losses...

We hope soviet and trade union organs will now see to it that all the agreements achieved are executed. However, the strike committees which, according to the protocol, exist in their current form until 1 August, may operate beyond that date as well in the capacity of committees of workers' control over the execution of the decisions made.

Elections to trade union committees, councils of labor collectives, and subsequently to the local soviets are in store for us. I believe that the toilers will give a vote of confidence to many members of the strike committees who have passed the trial of struggle and have shown themselves to be competent and bold organizers capable of thinking in the categories of state. They will defend the interests of the region, labor collectives, and every toiler serving on elected trade union and soviet organs. We need to boost the authority of these organs; we need principled, independent, and free-thinking trade union committees at all levels, rather than those singing along with someone. This is also the case with local Soviets of People's Deputies.

[TRUD] If we may, briefly about yourself.

[Avaliani] I am a Leningrader. I was taken out of the blockaded city over the Ladoga Lake. Subsequently came the orphanage, vocational school, work, army service. I have worked in all kinds of trades—as a fitter, loader, drifter, explosives specialist. I was elected trade union committee chairman and graduated from the department of economics of an institute through correspondence. I am a communist. At present I am deputy director at the administration for capital construction at the "Kiselevskugol" Production Association.

[TRUD] We remember: PRAVDA reported not so long ago on your letter to Brezhnev...

[Avaliani] There was such an episode in my life. Looking with pain at how our country was creeping into a crisis, I wrote a letter to Brezhnev suggesting that he resign the position of general secretary because otherwise he may cause detrimental consequences for the country. Of course, I did not receive a reply. However, somewhat later the oblast military commissar summoned me and some other comrades and suggested, under a respectable pretext, that I check into a psychiatric hospital for an examination. I went away and did not carry on the conversation. As I understand it, others were hospitalized on my account... At the Congress of People's Deputies I filed an inquiry with the prosecutor general, and asked him to sort out this case. The response was: Unfortunately, the former military commissar has died, and nothing can be investigated...

The people have entrusted to me the credentials of a people's deputy. This is why I am always with them, with their worries, concerns, and actions. I believe in the wisdom and consistency of the working class.

NOVOSTI Observer on Strikes

AU0408151389 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 31 2 Aug 89 p 11

[Article by Vladimir Simonov, NOVOSTI observer: "Strike According to Soviet Style"—specially dispatched for ANTENI from Moscow]

[Text] There are reasons to believe that, as a result of the miners' strike, Mikhail Gorbachev can more strongly rely on the workers' class as an ally in implementing his reforms.

As to the reforms themselves, they will, to an even greater extent, acquire a quality that we define as closely responding to the needs of man.

Restructuring from the top will be complemented by restructuring from the bottom.

These conclusions are prompted by the nature of this labor conflict which was the most significant one in the history of the Soviet Union and by the goodwill with which both the authorities and the striking workers tried to find a solution of the crisis.

Only 4-5 years ago a strike of similar dimensions would have been declared a rebellion of socially dangerous elements, and the instigators of the action would have been sought among the collaborators of the Voice of America and Deutsche Welle. No matter, how paradoxical it may sound, it is my conviction that this organized interruption of work in which miners from Western Siberia to the Ukraina have engaged, is a splendid argument for the success of Gorbachev's democratization policy.

Under Brezhnev, even if the miners had managed to go out into the street and to demonstrate, no one in the country would have learned about their requests, anyway.

Gorbachev's team, on the contrary, immediately sided with the cause of the striking workers. It understood the positive meaning of their requests and the sense of responsibility that inspired the workers' behavior. Neither soldiers of the internal forces, nor tanks were involved. A central government commission was appointed which in Kuzbass, for example, managed to agree with the strikers on 35 items of a joint protocol. The necessity of a social dialogue was promptly accepted on both sides. From the maximalism of their initial demands, the strike committees went over to the "Give and take!" formula which is applied in the solution of all labor conflicts in the West because it takes into consideration the possibilities of the owner—which is the state in our case.

As a result, the miners achieved their main goal: namely, the economic and legal independence of the mines, which was promised to them for 1990. It is expected that various forms of property and of production means, such as—the lease, cooperative, and shareholders systems—should be applied in the future. In addition to this, the miners' families are expected to appreciate the intensified housing programs, the increased supplies of goods in the stores, and the reappearance on the shelves of rarities, such as soap.

The miners are well aware that their weapon, namely the strike, is rather destructive for the somewhat unstable Soviet economy. According to certain evaluations, the Soviet Union suffered a loss amounting to approximately $100 million, as a result of the interruption of the coal mining work that lasted one week. Many Soviet people deeply resented this fact. On the grounds of their inexperience, they had failed to realize the actual discomforts which their sympathy for the miners would cause them.

From the Western viewpoint, many aspects of the Soviet strike looked familiar. Such aspects were: the hostility of those strata of the population whose well-being was exposed to danger; the appearance of the president appealing for cooperation on television; and the proposal of a people's deputy to give the non-confidence vote to the minister of the relevant industrial branch, namely of mining industry.

However, what Western observers could hardly understand was the attitude of the Soviet trade unions. They stood on the other side of the barricades. Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the trade unions, was a member of the government commission, instead of defending the interests of the strikers against the government. The Soviet press used to denounce the bourgeois trade unions as allies of the capitalist owners, but even in their most critical articles the Soviet journalists could hardly have assumed that the AFL-CIO would ever be as collaborationist as the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU].

This prompted many foreign observers to think that the Soviet miners' strike might perhaps lead to the establishment of an independent trade union organization in the USSR—somewhat similar to Solidarity, for example. Certain parallels between Kuzbass and Gdansk could not be denied at a first glance, as a matter of fact. The Soviet strike committees actually asked for the introduction of market prices for coal. However, the similarities between the two strikes are limited to the aforementioned common features. The role of the church is totally missing from the Soviet strike. Unlike the Polish miners, those in the USSR firmly expressed themselves in favor of the government policy and in support of its appeal for greater democratization and for a workers control over enterprises.

I even remember an incident, when the strikers hissed at a representative of the Democratic Union, who started propagating a multi-party system, and chased him away from the rostrum. The strikers' wrath was directed against the passive attitude of the local bureaucracy and of the administrative apparatus, namely against all those forces which are the targets of Gorbachev's own struggle.

The future of the Soviet trade union movement after the strike cannot be predicted. One thing is evident, however—Stepan Shalayev's peaceful days are over.

However, we should by no means omit the most important thing—namely that Gorbachev received a powerful vote of confidence from the workers class in his struggle against the conservatives.

Causes of Strikes Examined

18220181 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 89 p 4

[Article by A. Kalinin, special correspondent in Donetsk Oblast: "Greasing"]

[Text] **A strike is a drastic measure. But it was the strike which attracted attention to the problems of a branch which had long functioned on the principle that "You don't get anywhere without greasing the wheels."**

When Aleksandr Sibirkin returned from the Army the kitchen window had already been replaced and the shattered stove corner was the only reminder of the recent incident. The criminals who had shot at the windows of the house late on a fall evening had been sentenced and were serving their sentences. True, a rumor crept around the mining village that while they were doing time, the garages promised to them for their work were being built here, and someone was caring tenderly for their families, as well as for the criminals themselves, and that the incident with Sibirkina was not simply to settle scores with her, but was meant as a warning to all: Whatever you know, hold your tongue, or you could lose it along with your head....

Rumors aside, the reason forcing some people to make attempts on the lives of other people they don't know at all remained undisclosed both by the investigation and the lawsuit. Lidiya Stepanovna, Sasha's mother, feels that the reasons were the reports on the padding she detected at the "Severnaya" mine.

Sibirkina works as a production training foreman—she instructs future miners on how to work under conditions of increased danger. And she herself suddenly came under such conditions. Once, having descended into the mine with the usual group of youths, she saw that coal and rock were being loaded onto the same belt. In talking with the miners, she learned that there is no rock network, that everything goes to the storehouse. It was later explained that the scoria, the slag from the fireroom, and even the rocks from the refuse heap were going to the storehouse. Sibirkina went to the Snezhnyansk party gorkom [city committee] and the OBKhSS [Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation], and began to write to the newspapers. They tried to fire her; it did not work. They tried other methods. They tried to get Lidiya Stepanovna's neighbor, a weak-willed man who had fallen under the influence of the management, to bury a bottle of home brew in her yard. The plan backfired since the spineless neighbor was not without a conscience, and they took his neck out of the noose. A scandal ensued. Then they tried to substitute Sasha's classmate, P. Pakalov, into the role. He refused, and even informed Sibirkina of such intentions....

Why continue with this story, incidentally. The facts of padding at the "Severnaya" mine were not confirmed. The commission which reviewed Sibirkina's complaints detected no rock in the coal. Sibirkina was labeled a chronic complainer. True, not all chronic complainers get themselves shot by a rifle in the middle of the night.

Nor was another letter confirmed, that of Yuriy Bychkov, the former master of the 60th Anniversary of the Soviet Ukraine Donetsk Mine.

He wrote to the editorial board, "For the last 2 or 3 years it has become the rule to designate one or two people who do not go down to the mine—"dead souls." If we take the minimum, one person per shift, that's four per day, 120 person-shifts. At R20 per team, that's over R2,000 per month. And there are days when four go on a shift, and the work order shows nine...."

The letter was checked by the officials at the ROVD [Rayon Internal Affairs Department], the procuracy, and association specialists. No violations were established. However, Yuriy himself was thrown out of the mine for violation of equipment safety.

They will tell me that if it wasn't confirmed, it means it didn't happen. And there's no need to write, to sully the miners' heroic labor. But I am quite alarmed at the current situation in our coal industry. My 12 years of work in Donbass give me the basis to assert that even if these concrete facts were not confirmed, they are characteristic of the branch on the whole, and are closely interconnected. And the majority of them cannot be confirmed since this is not advantageous to those who direct or those who execute, and not infrequently, to those who inspect.

Four years ago inspectors of the control-inspection administration suddenly appeared at another Snezhnyansk mine, "Udarnik." This was one of the few nondepartmental inspections of the coal enterprise. Their arrival was not timely—toward the end of the quarter. And they immediately observed that there was significantly less coal going to the storehouse than was indicated in the documents.

The controllers were thrown out of the mine. The obkom [oblast committee] secretary arrived and said, "Don't stick your nose in somebody else's business; don't interfere with people fulfilling the plan."

But the inspectors proved to be exceptionally stubborn and returned to the mine at the beginning of the new quarter. According to the documents, the amount of coal at the storehouse had decreased slightly, some had been shipped out to enrichment plants and consumers, but the figures did not tally all the same. And it was noted that according to the mine documents, the drivers were transporting coal on the days when, according to autotransport enterprise documents, they were repairing their cars. And of the 305 railroad cars which, again according to mine documents, were loaded with coal and sent to the consumer, only 209 were confirmed by railroad traffic logs. In all, they were about 100,000 metric tons of coal short.

There was a trial. And even though it somehow did not take the transport padding into consideration, the shortfall was put at 32,677 metric tons. The criminals were sentenced to....

Incidentally, I cannot refrain from citing some lines from the sentence. It stated, "The court cannot but take into consideration previous services to the state and society rendered by the defendant Polyakov (mine director—A.K.), who has made a weighty contribution to the enterprise's production achievements. Polyakov is the full bearer of all levels of the order of 'Miners' Glory', has been awarded orders of the Red Banner of Labor, the October Revolution, medals 'For Valiant Labor,' and 'Veteran of Labor,' and he has earned the title of 'Honored Miner of the UkSSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic]. The court cannot but take into consideration that one of the causes for Polyakov's commission of a crime was the presence of objective data: the complicated winter conditions, the poor quality of the coal obtained, that the existing system of extraction accounting has significant shortcomings (!)..."

Taking all this into consideration, our humane court designated Polyakov's punishment to be "lower than the lower limit stipulated by the sanction of the article of the accusation." The criminal was sentenced to a fine, which, I suppose, he paid if not without great joy, at least without great effort. All the more so because experience shows that it is easy to extract money from the mining purse as the need arises.

Last fall one of the bosses of another mining site, "Makeyevskaya," was tried for extortion. He took R8,410 from miners over 8 months. Here are some lines from the witnesses' depositions. "On meeting me, the site boss said that he is going to Moscow and that I must bring him R50 tonight or tomorrow morning...." "They told me, you're getting a bonus, take R15 for yourself, and bring 35...." "I conveyed the money to the brigadier. He kept a list and used it to collect money...."

Where was this sum spent? A portion of it on dues to all sorts of public organizations to which the miners of the site never belonged. A portion for the purchase "from undetermined individuals of coal face equipment and spare parts known to have been stolen." The court did not determine where the other 6,500 went. On the other hand, it was noted yet again that the crime was committed as a result of the already existing practice, and the criminal was not pursuing a personal, mercenary goal, but a socially useful one—the fulfillment of state plans, and that during the time when this man managed the site and owing specifically to the given system, all production assignments were fulfilled....

I spoke with the managers of many mining sites, with OBKhSS officials, with party secretaries, with all sorts of people, all in agreement: Extortion and padding are practiced frequently and by many. They take money for getting people work (if it is a good, "money" site), for compensatory leave, for truancy, and for tardiness. The system of cuts has many levels, and is usually handled not by the manager himself, but by his deputy, or a mechanic. It is not difficult to get rid of those who refuse to pay, for the disciplinary code in fact renders the miner without rights, and puts him outside of the law.

"My son Anatoliy was fired under the guise of reduction in force," N. Lukin of Chervonograd, Lvov Oblast, writes to the editors. "But in actuality, it was because he didn't want to share his pay with the mechanic...."

Not just money is extorted. Bonuses are awarded on agreed-to bases. They count their favorite people at work, who open (for a consideration, of course) a passbook account at a savings bank. It isn't even a matter of where this money is coming from. The main thing is that neither the managers nor the workers themselves can imagine the coal enterprise's successful work without this money. This is the so-called shadow economic accountability, which developed in the absence of real economic accountability. It pays for equipment and spare parts as the level of provisions is very low, and for a reduced plan and an increased freedom norm. It pays the inspectors, firemen, and safety equipment inspectors. Money is capable of turning worthless rock into coal, and rock is capable of turning into real money. The site chief knows that if he does not give people what they need, they will not give him work. Those who do not understand this simply cannot cope with the obligations. In turn, the worker knows that if he does not share his earnings with the chief, he cannot fulfill his plan, will not get a bonus, and as a result, will be deprived of even more.

This money is a distinctive kind of greasing which allows the stirred-up mechanism of our economy to turn.

Few are determined to protest, only those who have something to lose. This same Yura Bychkov sat down to write his letter when they refused to sell him a machine. And no one at the site supported the mining foreman, since everybody knew that without these "dead souls," things would be worse. And they also knew that the bosses would always get out of it.

While working at the high-circulation, and later at oblast newspapers, I frequently heard from party officials of various ranks, "Increase the prestige of mining labor!" In my naivete, I simply thought that the more we write about miners, the more vividly we describe their truly heroic labor, the more attractive this profession will be, and the more eagerly young people would enter it. We were like those recruiters who travel the western oblasts of the Ukraine, inviting village lads to Donbass. How they would praise the mining life, how they would embellish it! It's so light and clean in the mine; you don't need a great mind, you just sit in the drift and push buttons; the combine will collect the coal by itself. And the shovel (if you should need one) is exclusively for piling up the money. Torn from their native areas by such prospects, lads traveled hundreds of kilometers to be horrified after descending into the mine, collect their belongings, and race back to the environs of their dear native land.

No, it is not words which make a matter prestigious or non-prestigious. The authority of slogans, and signs of respect in the newspaper column are curtailed authority. Genuine respect is good wages, good labor conditions, and concern for the worker's relaxation, honor, and dignity.

In the beginning, I did not understand why the miners complain about the bad attitude toward them. This is, after all, the proletariat, the hegemonic power, the labor guard. Why is it that the cars allocated for them are sold elsewhere, and people having only the vaguest relation to the mine are vacationing in rest homes erected for miners? Why is it that during "high season," no place can be found for them on the country's best beaches, and that more office staff vacations in summer? Because, as has now become apparent, the worker does not yield the entire product on which the mine feeds, but only a part, a component of it.

Recently Donbass has started to give the country not so much coal as mined mass. They explain this by saying that the productive industrial seams have been mined out, leaving the unproductive ones, narrow ones which, in other countries, are not mined at all. There is no equipment scaled for such seams, therefore, they have to take the rock with the coal.

But, as they say, all they have to do is to get their claws into you....

In the last 12 years, the planned, permissible ash content of Ukrainian coal increased 7.4 percent. In fact, the percentage of rock is not controlled by anyone outside of the department, and is not reflected in official inventories. It is indecent to even speak of this among coal workers. Statistical summaries list a strange index—ash content, brought to normal levels. Who brought it there? How? Where?

"I live next to a coal storehouse and I see how the they constantly pour rock on the bottom of the railcars," says V. Kachura, labor veteran, former miner of the "Severnaya" mine. "In miners' lingo this is called making a layered pie. And when I worked in the mine I would get orders to pour rocks with the coal in every third mine car...."

"From 1985 to this day, they haul rock and scoria from the fireroom to the emergency storehouse in vehicles, and then mix it, using a tractor, and load it onto railcars." This is from the letter of another veteran, N. Zavalnyuk.

There are more than a few such letters in my file.

But what are letters when I have seen things such as these with my own eyes.

I. Silyakhin, former deputy director of the "Severnaya" mine, recalls that "the massive padding began sometime in the seventies. They mixed rock with the coal, and manipulated the weight of the mine cars. About 10,000-15,000 metric tons were padded every month. Extraction accounts were kept according to certain indices and loading accounts by others, and payment by others still. This is exactly why I quit my job as a lead engineer...."

During the only nondepartmental inspection, coal ash content at the "Udarnik" mine was 52.6 percent with a plan norm of 36 percent.

In effect, entire railroad rolling stock carries inert rock around the country. This rock is being passed off as coal, extracted by nonexistent workers, but for which they are paid real money.

The mafia! Oh, how that word hastens to tear itself from the pen. But how difficult it is to pronounce it as applied to a concrete region, a concrete branch. And where is your proof? There is no proof. Well, shut up and mind your own business.

I was taken aback when I was told of a certain mine director, "He is indeed the Godfather." I felt a powerful internal protest. How can this be so, when this man carries a party card, indoctrinates people, agitates for perestroyka.... Then I thought, if he is the Godfather, then we are all his children. We are all participants in the mafia. "We" means the miner forced into making deals with his conscience and pouring rock into the coal; he is the journalist not bold enough to write the truth and thus deceives society; he is the inspector who closes his eyes to padding and theft; he is the energy worker who burns rocks rather than coal in his boiler....

In 1980 a boiler exploded at the Starobeshovo GRES [state regional electric power station] as the result of poor-quality coal. People were killed. Another problem has arisen since the time that people learned to burn rocks in fire chambers. The Western firms who were reconstructing the GRES could not find a contractor who could build a boiler to run on coal of such quality. GRES chief V. Shevchenko says, "We look at this as ill fate. They are forcing us to burn fuel like this as an order."

A good portion of the miner's wages come from bonuses. He is given a bonus not for coal quality, but for overfulfillment of the plan, for the gross. The plans, frequently growing unjustifiably, can sometimes be filled only at the expense of padding or safety equipment. The miner's wages depend not upon what the miner himself makes, but on whether the manager can "make" the plan. The miner has ceased to be a key figure. The office does not depend upon the miner; the miner depends upon the office.

The absurd economy leads to absurd production relations as well. On the one hand, they stopped taking the worker into consideration. They can take away part of his wages, move his vacation around, transfer him from one site to another, and finally, fire him.

On the other hand, the workers have gotten used to the fact that their wages do not depend upon themselves. The least little thing, and they send a delegation to the obkom or gorkom [city committee]. Then came a new ploy, to not leave the mine, to strike. If it works out, the branch and regional fathers can find the chance to raise wages. At the expense of what? Well, that is an indelicate question.

Once, armed with facts, one of the oblasts main inspectors approached one of the main enforcers of lawful order. After all, something had to be done. The enforcer said confidentially, "My advice to you is not to get involved in this matter. A brick could fall on your head when you least expect it, and then we would never even be able to find the body...." The inspector took the advice. Because, in spite of his authority, he is essentially a small, defenseless man. And he wants to live.

From the editors: This material had already been "signed to press," but the report from Mezhdurechensk, Kemerovo Oblast, displaced it for an indefinite period. After Kuzbass, the strike engulfed Donbass and the country's other mining regions. The powerful current surfaced things which had been hidden for years and assiduously hushed up, including padding, extortion, corruption. The entire country found out about the branch's problems; they were discussed in the USSR Supreme Soviet and at the miners' recent meeting with N.I Ryzhkov. Incidentally L. Sibirkina, whose story stood at the opening of this piece, also attended this meeting.

Further Labor Unrest Possible

18001427 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 1

[Article by Ye. Domnysheva: "After an Explosion"]

[Text] Our working class has again made itself respected, and let us not be afraid of these words.

The unprecedented wave of miners' strikes that has swept our country has forced a different look at the hierarchy of perestroyka values, the problems of power and economic independence. According to an assessment by M.S. Gorbachev, we have gone through difficult, disturbing, and perhaps even dramatic days. In his interview to central TV, he stressed that the striking miners have behaved in a highly responsible and balanced manner in this complex situation and did not allow anyone to exploit the tense situation for improper purposes.

The strikes have taught us new lessons. One of them is that perestroyka should resolutely act in the interests of the people; our power should seek and find solutions to the most difficult questions together with the people, drawing on their opinion and support.

The echo of these events is powerful. Deputy from Kemerovo Oblast V.Ya. Medikov was one of the first to make a statement at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Having made a speech before a joint meeting of the chambers, he immediately flew to the Kuzbass in order to once again assess the non-standard and acute situation in the field. Our correspondent Ye. Domnysheva approached him with a request to comment on the conflict that has developed in the industry.

"The Kuzbass is working today, and the situation in other basins is getting back to normal. However, the spark that at one point flared up in an intense flame has not been snuffed out yet.

"Why has tension built up in this particular industry? There is a reason for miners in particular to go on a massive strike. Due to their peculiarities, workers of the mining industry are usually the most united and organized ones. Along with the metallurgists, the miners belong to the backbone industries of our economy. A day of down time for them means millions in losses. The workers understand this full well, just as the fact that the harm and losses will boomerang back to them in the same form of goods being in short supply or not being produced. The miners are aware that a strike is the most extreme measure. However, what is there to do if the knot of all problems in the region is tied so tight?

"The issue is literally that of survival. They tell the miner that the funds are lacking and fail to pay him bonuses for evening and night shifts; he has difficulty coaxing an allocation of coal for the winter for himself. Meanwhile, right here, next to him, 8 to 12 million tons of coal not shipped burn up in heaps... The pent-up problems have brought about an explosion of passions. It is too early to talk about results, despite the fact that now, when the mines have received economic and legal independence, everything must change. After all, in all of that the miners themselves understand that they are not the only ones in this situation.

"It is important for the entire national economy to switch to new methods of economic operations as soon as possible and to strictly comply with the laws of cost-control economics. Distorted links must be severed. The situation in the Kuzbass has brought everything to light in detail, and it is plain dangerous to delude ourselves—I say this as an economist. I have talked to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and have stated to him my apprehension that the situation in the metallurgical industry is no less tense. Over there everything is on the brink of exploding as well. Our miners leave their health underground and very seldom live long after they retire, whereas the metallurgists "burn" next to their furnaces. These are the people of extreme professions, and this is one of the reasons why they raise their issues so sharply.

"Naturally, when they say that everywhere in our economy we have a crisis situation, and funds are needed everywhere, doubts arise about a way out. However, I think that there is a way. We should recall our priorities; life itself sets them. Ultimately, the miners are demanding an opportunity to honestly receive what they have earned rather than an increase in wages. So, here it is: Either we switch to new forms of economic operations, or we will get a string of crisis situations.

"The Kuzbass and other mining centers together with it have shown that we cannot wait for the beginning of the new 5-year plan; that the state of affairs in the economy should be changed right now. This is a conclusion everyone would do well to heed, including the Supreme Soviet."

'Lessons' Drawn From Strikes

18220179 Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Jul 89 p 1

[Report by V. Karpov on the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "Difficult Lessons"]

[Text] The session is like a barometer—the state of affairs in the country may be judged on the basis of the tension and nature of discussions. Ecology, the standard of living, Fergana, Abkhaziya... However, in all instances we are sort of catching up with events. On last Monday and Tuesday the deputies discussed the state of affairs in the mining regions (life has brought up yet another problem). Strike, work stoppage; these quite recently unconventional words, inconceivable in domestic usage, sounded for perhaps the first time on the premises of the Kremlin Palace. The problem is new, but was it difficult to anticipate that it would emerge? What has happened is a lesson not only for M. Shchadov or N. Ryzhkov, heads of ministries, offices, and trade union aktiv, but also for the deputies themselves. This is, if you will, a lesson of the time.

The background of the strike is unambiguous and depressingly ubiquitous—unsolved socioeconomic problems. Soap, detergents, empty store shelves... However, this is not what I am going to talk about at present. Let us recall what became the match that set the fire of strikes to the Kuzbass—rumors about miners losing preferences under new laws on retirement benefits. Putting it mildly, these facts were not precise. No one even had a design on the privileges of miners. However, the agitation is understandable. Have we not taken too long preparing the law which, as far as we know, the Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Issues], the Minfin [Ministry of Finance], the Minyust [Ministry of Justice], the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] started working on as long ago as 1986? However, the law still has not "squeezed through" the sieve of the Council of Ministers. Incidentally, the strike in Makeyevka, which at one point was winding down, flared up again with renewed strength only because the strikers and the commission from the center tripped over the same issues of retirement benefits. However, this is not a local issue; it is outside the sphere of competence of even the most competent commission, and only within that of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A comparison suggests itself: The old and the currently effective Law on Retirement Benefits was prepared within a year.

What was the main demand of the strikers? To give them independence. The session responded immediately: As members of the Supreme Soviet assessed it, laws are at times half-measures in nature, even the ones are born in the stormy and bright time of perestroyka. Inconsistent decisions are made. It is right on the surface—take the Law on State Enterprises. It brought a good deal of joy and hope to the minds and hearts of workers, but only initially. Ministerial instructions and "pointers" have quickly washed away the initially strong body of the law. Was it not obvious and known before the strike that the ministries have maintained their strict dictatorial powers over enterprises in almost the previous scope? So, where should have the faith in perestroyka come from? Due to the strike, perestroyka sort of received a push from below; it was joined by new forces. However, in all honesty this was a forced push, and not without tears—alas, neither the congress nor the session have given rights to the collectives in a timely manner. The latter, in their turn, were forced to take the rights from the bureaucracy circumventing the law still not written, at the price of shutting down mines and open-pit mines, at the price of a considerable disruption in the economy which has been running a fever anyway. To bolster my idea, I will quote one opinion (if need be, more can be quoted) of member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, electrical welder of a production association V. Fominykh.

"It is difficult not to agree with this rebuke. A new law on the socialist enterprise has simply become a necessity. Indeed, it may be a matter of time, but we, the deputies, could at least make amendments to the one in effect."

This is the lesson not only of the time, but also of the personal responsibility of everyone. The deputies talked a lot, both at the congress and later. They were criticized for it on occasion. However, can we hold it against them if an opportunity appeared for the first time to say what is most painful, what could not be said for decades, on behalf, in the name, and at the request of people? However, the deputies were slow in something else—in making specific decisions. For example, how many times has the issue of speeding up the transfer of real authority to the local soviets been raised? In principle, things were discussed that were common knowledge and which did not call for any discovery, things the press had written about many times. We have been delaying. If we were to analyze the demands of miners, it is easy to make sure that a good deal of complaints could have been dealt with locally had the soviets been active, had rights, and had funds... Seventy years later we witnessed how the soviet power should work in the case of strike committees, which maintained strict order and showed an example of organization and effectiveness.

Strikes had erupted in the country many times, and losses caused by them were evident. It appeared clear to all: Strikes have got to be dressed in the mantle of law. About a year ago I happened to talk to employees of the USSR Procuracy who were preparing a draft of such a law. I heard about plans and specific proposals. It seemed that it was ever so close... However, the draft is still "about to be released..." It seems to me that time is outrunning us again.

Perhaps, the session itself had an opportunity to avert the strike conflict, at the very day and hour when the candidacy of the USSR Minister of Coal Industry M. Shchadov was discussed. Even then, coal hewer from the 22d Congress Mine from the city of Stakhanov in Voroshilovgrad Oblast A. Tsarevskiy demanded: "Give us the right to be independent, give us the right to sell above-the-plan output in order to resolve usual social issues." Even then it sounded like an alarm signal from the speaker's stand: In mining settlements and cities even the most elementary things that a person needs for human existence are absent—housing, day care centers, even water! Unfortunately, the banal and conventional remark by the contender did not alarm anyone: "The ministry will do everything to considerably improve the social conditions of miners in these cities." At the session they believed what the miners refused to believe a little bit later.

Says member of the USSR Supreme Soviet General Director of the "Kostromaenergo" Association B. Vasilyev: "We were swayed by the fact that M. Shchadov knows workers, visits mines, goes down to stopes. By now, I am already doubtful as to whether we voted right then...."

...The session is changing priorities, and in proceeding toward perestroyka restructuring itself. The laws on leasing, property, regional economic accountability, and independence of enterprises have taken on primary significance now, which is satisfying... This is to a certain degree the "fault" of the strike. The agreement secured was received with satisfaction, but also with caution. On Monday M.S. Gorbachev read a note from a deputy who wanted to know on behalf of the voters with which moneys the aid to miners will be provided and from which funds. This is not an idle question. Problems of one industry cannot be solved at the expense of another because the issues raised by the miners have national significance. I am impressed by the concept advanced by member of the USSR Supreme Soviet S. Savitskaya on the need to hear a report by the minister of coal industry and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers on the specific program of transformations and sources of revenue.

The time makes this urgent, but it does not tolerate mistakes.

"Yes, I agree that rebukes are in order for what has happened to the miners, including rebukes to us, the deputies..." says B. Yeltsin.

These are difficult lessons. This means that conclusions need to be drawn from them all the more.

Yeltsin Hits Gorbachev Congress Remarks

PM0908131889 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 8 Aug 89 p 5

[Soviet People's Deputy Boris Yeltsin "Debate" article: "A Crisis Program Is Needed, Gorbachev!"]

[Text] The Congress of People's Deputies did not inspire in me the unreasonably euphoric and carefree mood that was typical of certain deputies, including the highest party leadership. Unquestionably the Congress was no ordinary event, but to describe it as "historic," "epoch-making" for the fate of the country, for its future—no, I personally am reluctant to make that assessment.

Among the positive aspects, I can mention the fact that certain deputies were courageous and attacking and did not have the "fear syndrome" that dominated us for decades and made us lose our sense of our own value, robbed us of our civic courage, and generally made us politically apathetic. These deputies were no majority, but were nevertheless a fairly significant minority—and to become people's deputies they had all as a rule passed through the dense and thorny thickets of the bureaucratic apparatus. Their contributions to the debate were resolute and even unexpected and gave the sessions a positive stimulus. Their tremendous activity was sometimes astonishing: They stood patiently in line in front of the microphone simply to have an opportunity to speak...

We were able to witness, as it were, the creation of a new cadre that in the future could form both a government and the party leadership—they are young people between 30 and 40, energetic, militant, with their own view of events in the country and with their own assessments. For us they are a completely new generation which, if one can express it so, has been standing in the shadows and which had remained unnoticed in the past, because no one wanted to notice it. As a rule they are young people, who are "uncomfortable" for the official leadership. It is no secret that some party leaders long thought, and still think, that there are no cadres who can take over from the top party leadership, that our country has a shortage of such cadres, and that there quite simply are no such cadres to which the lessons learned can be handed on.

The Congress brought out and showed us this new generation on which we can lean and which we must help in all ways.

Not all Western parliaments can boast such close contacts with the people as our Congress—direct television broadcasts of all the sessions. Not all speeches to the Congress met with approval, and the silence of certain deputies even gave rise to concern among the voters, who felt themselves called on to send letters and telegrams to them and ask where they stood on this or that issue. I view the glasnost of the Congress as a major victory for our society.

Among the negative aspects I would mention the fact that the sessions were badly prepared and badly organized. Since we have such an experienced party machine I do not think that this was an accident. I would say that the Congress was at once disorganized and overorganized. As soon as a courageous and interesting contribution to the debate was made, an "organized" speaker immediately appeared, most often as a counterbalance, and tried to lead the debate away from the problem under discussion by raising a completely different question. This caused not only me to wonder. The impression was that the Congress of People's Deputies had sensitive "conductors" who were on their guard the whole time.

Gorbachev's and Ryzhkov's speeches produced in me a feeling of dissatisfaction. At bottom they were traditional. None of their speeches formulated any clearly radical program to extricate the country from the economic and financial crisis, and their social program was vague. And this, in a critical situation when we have considerable foreign debts, are witnessing a devaluation of the ruble, have a low standard of living and 48 million inhabitants who live under the poverty line!

It was expected that at the first Congress of People's Deputies there would be at least a symbolic transfer of power from the party to the soviets. But apart from talk of this, no real steps were taken. The party organs have been in charge of the allocation of both economic and social resources, and they still determine policy today. There can only be one way out here: All power must be handed over to the soviets, that is, to the people and the Congress of People's Deputies as the highest legislative body. The party is after all only one part of society; it has 20 million members while the people number 280 million!

The party's statutes state that it exists for the people and serves the people. But the people have a supreme body—the Congress of People's Deputies. Logically therefore, the party should be accountable in law to the highest legislative body. It is my firm view that a law on the party must be adopted and the party must work within the framework of this law. And within the framework of this law no one, not even the Congress of People's Deputies should be allowed to meddle in the party's affairs, and and its work is its own internal affair. But if the party steps outside this framework the Congress must have the right to ask why. Only then will there be guarantees against relapses into the past—personality cults, voluntarism, and other negative, dramatic, and tragic pages in our country's history.

A certain counterweight to these is to be found in the final resolution of the Congress (PRAVDA 26 July) where the first section states that the Congress "assumes all supreme state power in the country." But if you look at the last page of this resolution, you see that this contains more or less a repetition of the article in the constitution which talks about the party's "leading and guiding" role. Nevertheless I still hope that in the future power can be gradually transferred to the soviets, since we will have a constantly functioning parliamentary body—the USSR Supreme Soviet—which will be permanently drafting legislation (something which as a rule the party has done in the past). I see this as a step forward.

The elections that were held had various shortcomings. The electoral law was written in great haste, and in my view a number of mistakes were made in it, and these must be put right now before the elections to the local soviets. True to old habits, local party organs tried to "let through" only party members as candidates. The mistakes also include the constituency meetings and the election of representatives for social organizations. These are well known mistakes which have been much written about in the press.

But there are also things that I see as incorrect in principle. I refer to a passage in the electoral law—a passage which I profoundly believe does great moral harm to our society—according to which people have the right to campaign "for" and "against." What does "campaigning against" mean? It means the right to slander others. In short, to try and find failings in a rival candidate and then blow them up out of all proportion. I myself had a taste of this when an 11-page libelous pamphlet about me was put together and was sent out to rayon organizations through the Moscow party committee. Fortunately the majority of people did not believe this filthy concoction, so I did not lose out because of it, but I believe that I received 5-7 percent more votes than I would have done otherwise.

One of the Congress' great mistakes was that it did not adopt the program proposed by the group of Moscow deputies. In the present phase the so-called Moscow variant was the most businesslike and open, and it immediately opened up even more great opportunities for the Congress.

What was it that we proposed? We proposed that the Congress adopt seven constitutional amendments. Small amendments, but important in principle, and also such as do not require many months of discussion by legal experts. They were not adopted. Another mistake was that the Congress did not even discuss the proposal put forward by Andrey Sakharov for a decree on power. I can add that part of the proposal expressed the view of the Moscow group, while Sakharov included some ideas of his won.

The Moscow group found itself in the minority, and we realize that a minority has to defend itself. We were not ready for that then. Now we have formed an Interregional Group to which 350 deputies have attached themselves, and I believe that this number will grow.

What we must do is work out at least 30 draft laws for the second Congress of People's Deputies. In my view these should include a law on referenda, a law on the status of people's deputies, and one on the status of the Supreme Soviet's committees and commissions. The Congress must also be given firm procedural rules, and the regulations governing meetings and demonstrations really must be rewritten.

In the committee that I head (the Construction and Architecture Committee), work is now proceeding at full pace. Difficulties surfaced immediately. The committee's composition—which I, as chairman, had nothing to do with—had to be changed. The committee was expanded to include 10 people who are active in the field in question and who really can and want to work.

As far as my personal program as a deputy is concerned, I consider it necessary to constantly meet people, voters. I hold such meetings with large collectives every Friday. As a deputy in the Moscow Soviet, I also receive voters from Ramenki in the Gagarin Rayon.

On the whole I think that work with the voters must be systematic and not accidental. Not like it was before—when a whole group of deputies went out to meetings, made a formal report, and then left. There must be permanent voters' clubs (such things are already being formed). Such clubs can be formed in residential areas or at work places and elsewhere. In the future the clubs could appoint a coordinating council, like the Moscow club, where work could be carried out on a permanent basis.

Strikes, Arms Confiscation Continue in Abkhaziya

LD0908170189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] The past 24 hours have seen a continuance of the tense situation in the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]. In Ochamchirskiy Rayon the labour collectives of a number of enterprises, organizations, state and collective farms remain unoperational. In the village of Ilori the hunger strike by 21 people continues. Internal Affairs bodies are working more actively to confiscate firearms and explosives from the population. During the past 24 hours, 33 firearms, including 11 rifles, were confiscated.

In the hydropathic place [dvorets vodolechenbnitsa] situated in the village of Besleti, Sukhumi Rayon, 52 kg of explosives were discovered and confiscated from the ancillary building.

Altogether, since the beginning of the events 1,824 firearms and more than a tonne of explosives have been confiscated or voluntarily surrendered. During the evening of 8-9 August, 155 people were detained for violating the travel procedure under the conditions of the special regime of citizens' conduct. With the aim of ensuring the special conduct of citizens, new passes will be introduced on the territory of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] from 10 August. Servicemen of the internal forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and militia workers are serving with combat weapons to ensure the public order and safety of citizens. The situation is under control.

General Kupreyev on Situation

NC0908170589 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Major General Sergey Kupreyev, a member of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] special administration committee, in assessing the developments around NKAO has pointed out that the situation in and around NKAO remains as tense as before. For the time being it is not possible to fully check the various forms of provocative actions by irresponsible people. An agreement has been reached with the Azerbaijan leadership to safeguard the security of passenger bus convoys bound from NKAO to Yerevan and back. The leadership of the Armenian republic's Interior Ministry in turn has undertaken to safeguard the security of vehicles entering the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic through Goris. These days, the rail workers at the Stepanakert train station are carrying out their duties responsibly. Karabkh grapes have been sent from here to different destinations in the country. The special administration committee and the commandant of the special district are doing everything to normalize the situation in the oblast as soon as possible and to prevent any sort of conflict on interethnic grounds, Major General Sergey Kupreyev concluded.

Source of Weapons Questioned

LD0908165189 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 21 Jul 89 p 1

[Editorial article by Aleksey Glurdzhidze: "Only to the Point: Where Do They Get Weapons?"]

[Text] First of all we would like to correct some information published in our paper on 14 July. In a crime information table a total of 699 cases of illegal storage, possession, or manufacture of weapons on the territory of the republic were mentioned. A few days later a representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs phoned to the editorial office and said that a mistake has been made, because only 121 such cases were uncovered. Unfortunately, the figure was exaggerated severalfold. We say "unfortunately," because the weapons which were not confiscated in time were used in Abkhaziya. Particularly worrying were the reports about the military submachineguns that were reaching certain extremists. According to witnesses, the same picture was observed during the Marneuli events. This matter had to be clarified, as the fact of people in conflict with the law being in possession of automatic weapons is an extremely serious event and the public should be aware of this.

In addition to the known facts on attacks against rayon departments of internal affairs, the cases of servicemen losing weapons may be the source of these attacks. How many such cases have happened on the territory of the Transcaucasus military district?

Republican press carried information about a sentry in Kutaisi being attacked. Here is a "fresher" piece of information supplied to the editorial office by the investigation department of the district procuracy. A mobile military guard unit was attacked in Zugdidi on 16 July; the criminal elements got away with three submachine guns, one pistol and ammunition. Colonel Klimov, deputy military procurator said that military procuracy has no information about somebody using weapons belonging to military units. He refused to elaborate on "leakage" [utechka] of weapons from the army or to give any examples.

The editorial office, nevertheless, knows about a recent tragedy at a military shooting ground of one of the units: children found a grenade and it exploded. This points to the fact that not everything is in order, as far as the storage of weapons is concerned. That is also the case in relation to the storage of explosives: several instances of explosives, detonators and wires confiscated from non-experts have been registered. If we are resolute to fully investigate every fact of the tragedy in Abkhaziya, we have no right to omit the weapons aspect of it. One more fact to support the above: 22 cartridges for the AK-74 submachinegun and 12 cartridges for the Makarov pistol have been confiscated from an inhabitant of Tbilisi. How did they get to a civilian?

Baku Commandant Urges Curfew Compliance

NC2307171989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 23 Jul 89

[Notice by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situationin the republic's capital has not changed. It remains peaceful. [sentence indistinct]

However, citizens are increasingly failing to comply with the curfew, which is in effect between 0100 and 0500. This may create undesirable results.

I appeal to the residents of multinational Baku to make it known once again that strengthening friendship among the peoples is only possible through a joint effort, through patiently safeguarding peace, and through maintaining social law and order.
[Signed] Major General Sokolov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

KGB's Kryuchkov, Officials Queried on Crime

PM0908105989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[R. Ignatyev feature under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Measures Against Crime"—first paragraph is an IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] It is well known that on 4 August 1989 the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution "On Resolutely Stepping Up the Struggle Against Crime" (IZVESTIYA issues No 218 and 219). Our correspondent asked several leaders of law enforcement organs to describe what is being done to implement this document.

V. KRYUCHKOV, chairman of the USSR KGB:
"Organized crime in our country was also combated in the past. Now we are going to considerably expand it. Local organs have been given instructions to step up their operations. The best cadres at the KGB's disposal are now being posted to different regions in the country. We will be carrying out our activity in closer contact with the Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD]. But the main aspect of this work involves broad participation by the public. I think that, provided the appropriate authorities give thorough attention to the struggle against organized crime, we will be able to halt its growth very soon and then reduce it.

"It is incumbent on us to do everything possible to ensure that the Soviet people can rest and work in peace. We cannot allow some tiny small group to impose its primitive morals on people.

"Specific proposals are being elaborated at present. The resolution which was adopted does not require the promulgation of additional laws. Nonetheless, we might have to ask the USSR Supreme Soviet to study new drafts associated with exceptional measures in the struggle against criminal elements."

V. TRUSHIN, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs:
"The document was discussed at a sitting of the USSR MVD Council on the very day after its adoption. Representatives of various services from our ministry and from the corresponding republic, kray, and oblast organs expressed their attitudes and made specific proposals. A plan is now being prepared to supply and technically equip the militia with due consideration for the resolution's demands. Draft laws have been prepared on the Soviet Militia and on questions concerning the legal protection of staffers of internal affairs organs and other law enforcement organs, Internal Troops servicemen, and members of people's voluntary detachments. Drafts have also been elaborated on amendments to criminal law and criminal procedure legislation, aimed at stepping up the struggle against organized crime.

"We have been in touch with our internal affairs organs at the local level and asked them for suggestions to ensure that measures to resolutely put a stop to actions by criminal elements are defined jointly with the Prosecutor's Office, the KGB, and the courts within the deadline set by the resolution."

I. GLADUSH, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic minister of internal affairs:
"The operational situation in the Ukraine, just like in the rest of the country, is very complex. Almost 170,000 crimes have been recorded in the first 7 months. This is 35 percent more than in the same period last year. In terms of criminal investigation cases the figures have risen by up to 55 percent. The situation is the same in almost all of the republic's oblasts, in the capital itself, and on the five largest railroads. The gravity of the consequences of crimes has increased recently and there has been a sharp rise in the number of murders. Racketeering is becoming routine—500 cases have been recorded. Groups have committed 11,000 crimes....

"In this complex situation, the Ukrainian militia failed to fulfill the tasks assigned to it. There are numerous reasons for this.

"The preventive service is now being revived within the Ukrainian MVD system. Its aim is to deal directly with people who are inclined toward the commission of crimes, especially persons with previous sentences who do not work anywhere and adolescents who have not taken the path of correction. Just like in the city of Gorkiy, we are setting up workers' detachments to assist the militia. We have formed a new service to combat organized crime. The best operatives have been posted there. We are seeking out ways to supply all personnel with individual means of protection—bulletproof vests, shields, and helmets. We are building up the investigation apparatus. Some 400 trained specialists from other services have been posted there."

A. KONOVALOV, chief of Rostov Oblast Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Administration:
"We are organizing new subdivisions. Like the prevention service which brings together all precinct inspectors and inspectors for cases involving minors. There is also the department to combat organized crime. So-called workers' militias are now being set up in Rostov-na-Donu, Volgodonsk, and other major centers in the oblast. Collective and state farms have been set the task of assigning people as precinct officers. They will work

together with full-time staffers but will receive their wages from the collective farms. Many farm leaders agree with this solution, but there are still numerous technical matters to be coordinated. This is why we need help from the USSR MVD. The ministry has assigned to us 50 investigators to reinforce the apparatus. We posted 32 of them to the Rostov-na-Donu Internal Affairs Administration. We are also reinforcing the officer cadres and junior ranks. We are being helped in this regard by party and soviet organs of power. People's voluntary detachments and public centers for the maintenance of law and order are being set up. Investigators are undergoing specialized training."

Chernenko Calls for Action Against Crime

PM0908111789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Andrey Chernenko "Political Diary": "Yes, There Is a Real Danger"]

[Text] Let us be frank: When we read occasionally about brutal crimes, waves of violence overwhelming our streets in the evenings, the invulnerability of racketeers, and arsenals of weapons found on members of organized bandit groups, we were perplexed at first and then a sense of anger began to envelop us.... Why are the authorities taking insufficiently vigorous action? Why do things go no further than establishing the facts—and what facts?! The curve of killings, rape, robberies, and hooliganism has soared upward: With the coming of twilight the faces of many of our cities are distorted by terror: Reports of killings and shootings are reminiscent of reports from the battlefield.

There are no vacuums in politics. Anything that does not receive a political interpretation in a timely fashion receives a lightning interpretation and treatment for various purposes from interested parties, as the saying goes. In this case quite tough and dangerous voices have begun to appear increasingly frequently amid our democratic cacophony, saying that crime is the inevitable result of a society disoriented by perestroyka and that society in general is still not ripe for radical political reforms.

The spectrum of opinions and judgments is extremely broad and every one certainly has some real foundation. But one thing is obvious: All strata of society without exception have begun to perceive the pressure from the criminal world and its brutal spirit, which poisons the ethical and moral atmosphere.

The head of state signed a document 4 August 1989 which has in effect put the law-enforcement system "under arms" for 2 years.

Judging by yesterday's telephone calls to PRAVDA, readers' reaction is unequivocal: Thank you, it is high time. But there are notes of concern: Will everything not be left on paper? Yes, the document is at present only a document, however prestigious the body which published it. The implementation of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Resolutely Increasing the Fight Against Crime" is not the work of a single day or even 2-3 months. Substantial financial investment is needed here along with the elaboration of various normative acts governing the activity of a number of subunits in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR KGB, and the USSR's Prosecutor's Office and determination on the part of politicians.

Consistency and persistence are needed! In order to prevent a repetition of the grievous experience of the Law on Unearned Income, which died an early death, or the the legislation regarding responsibility for kindling interethnic dissension, which has not as yet operated absolutely. Yet there are so many dead and injured—hundreds!—while only one person has been convicted for actions inciting ethnic intolerance....

The document in itself does not change the appearance of society. The shortage of soap, washing powder, smart clothes, good-quality shoes, and foodstuffs will still doom many people to contacts with speculators and sharp operators in the black economy. The rotten quality of goods in conjunction with the shortage of spare parts compels many people once again to seek out backstreet car mechanics, who are in turn supplied by nocturnal looters who "strip down" other citizens' vehicles.

It would be extremely dangerous for us, the citizens of a country which is to a certain degree experiencing the birth pangs of democracy, to put our trust in the fact that the situation will change at a wave of the hand. The document is addressed not only to the minister of internal affairs or the prosecutor general but to every one of us. Freeloading here is as dangerous as freeloading in the economy and politics.

Power is not a militiaman with a night stick, which was introduced recently (after some delay, I beleive).

Power is not a famous criminal investigation inspector or an officer in the internal troops or a prosecutor either.

They are only the representatives of Soviet power who have been entrusted with defending this power. Power is you and me, the citizens, the soviets of people's deputies, whom we elected and have still to elect in order for them to concentrate our social rights, our civic pain, and our human hopes.

This is what we should realize when reading this document. Since it gives us the power to demand that law-enforcement organs perform their duties irreproachably and demand that any official or politician observes the rights of militia, prosecutor's office, and KGB employees.

But the action and controlling mechanism has already been set up and seems to have begun its work at a cracking pace. This is the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Yes, the danger of gangsterism in our daily life is extremely real. It is not only a matter of alarming figures, which have lost their shroud of secrecy today. Statistics indicate that we have had worse times. It is a question of something else, a qualitatively new type of crime—something that has been tailored to fit the processes of democratization and which reacts in a more flexible fashion than the "legal economy" to demand for commodities and to shortages and which is actively infiltrating the world of cooperative workers and trying, judging from numerous data, to shove various of "its" people into political posts. In this situation, by lagging behind in taking harsh security measures, society is not guaranteed against the most unforeseeable turmoil engendered by crime.

It is good that the USSR Supreme Soviet perceived this clearly. We must not delay any longer in concentrating all our law-enforcement forces and all society on the fight against crime.

It is urgent.

Union Crime Committee Holds Meeting

LD0808220889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent V. Flyarkovskiy]

[Text] As is known, on the last day of its work the USSR Supreme Soviet session adopted a decision on resolutely intensifying the struggle against crime. Its first point was to set up provisional committees to combat crime in the union, republics, krays and oblasts. And now, on the 4th day in Moscow, the first meeting of the union committee has been held. It was headed by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The committee is made up of heads of the procurator's office, the Internal Affairs Ministry, legal bodies, bodies of the judiciary and people's deputies.

After the meeting, Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, USSR internal affairs minister, gave an interview to the program:

[Begin recording] [Bakatin] One does not need to look at and consider the matter as though we were starting from scratch, as though we set up the committees and everything started from there. No, this was simply—this was a decision by the Supreme Soviet, an additional boost, a very powerful boost, which we simply have no right not to take advantage of. This decision is of immense political significance, immense significance. It must to some extent shake off the indecisiveness and the torpidity which, unfortunately, is inherent in some personnel of the law-and-order bodies—and I would not say just the militia, because here you have the courts, the procurator's office, the judiciary, and others.

[Flyarkovskiy] And perhaps confusion, but...

[Bakatin, interrupting] Well, at least torpidity, that's what I say. Anyway, crime has gone up lately. And all we have done is talk about it, and we must simply get down to doing something about it. In this respect, I would say that the Supreme Soviet decision is of colossal significance. Let us talk less and do more, that is what I think. But extreme measures—some people see extreme measures as somehow running counter to existing legislation. I do not think there is anything like that here and there cannot be. This is simply within the channels of our overall policy to implement these, what I would call global and very serious activities in the building, the creation, of a law-based state that probably will require some time to achieve, and we must adopt extreme measures in the struggle against crime on the basis of the existing legislation. It is important that those laws which are in many ways dead today start working, and it is important that those bodies which frequently just play safe get down to real work. That is the essence of these decisions, and therefore there is no reason to fear any lawlessness as some people have started saying. [end recording] [video shows general shot of meeting and close-ups of some of those present, including Lukyanov]

Criminals' Access to Firearms Examined

18001431 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 6

[Article by S. Khozin: "A Privately Owned Colt"]

[Text] A couple of blows with a hammer on the barrel of the discarded gun held in a vice—and it was all over. Soon there was nothing left of hundreds of guns, rifles, and pistols except a heap of twisted iron.

That is how they destroy various weapons that fall into the hands of the police. Not all of them have been used in crime. But the documents of the GUVD [Main Internal Affairs Administration] of the Mosgorispolkom [Moscow City Executive Committee] contain sad lines.

On 8 June 1988 citizen Gaydukov, who was registered at the outpatient psychiatric facility, used a gun belonging to his father to fire three shots in the apartment and seven in the stairwell.

On 10 May 1989 citizen Golovanov committed suicide. He was a disabled person of the second category who shot himself with a foreign-made unregistered gun. According to his relatives, he has kept the gun in his dacha for the past 10 years.

Weapons in the hands of a mentally ill person... Any one of us who happened to get in the way could become a victim. How has such a thing become possible? I asked this of a member of the special commission, the chief of the department licensing system of the GUVD of the Mosgorispolkom, I. Sedov.

"Permission to keep a weapon is granted only after a careful investigation of its future owner. But this policy has been in existence since 1976 when registration began. Before this weapons could be purchased with a hunting license. Even in 1976 a certain number of hunters were weeded out. Only 55,000 of them were left out of more than 100,000. Today they legally have in their possession about 65,000 weapons. We carefully keep track of each one of them. For example, all they have to do is be arrested for being drunk a time or two and it is goodbye to hunting.

"But I emphasize that we are dealing with weapons that have been officially registered. Applying sanctions is not in the rules for the operation of our department. If someone voluntarily tells us about a weapon that is being kept illegally we do not confiscate it but purchase it from the owner. He is not held liable for keeping it. During the past 5 years 17,552 weapons have been turned in to us. During these years not a single crime has been reported involving weapons that have been registered by their owners. There is no doubt that there are still some pieces lying around somewhere, and not just those used for hunting... But their "masters" are dealt with in the work of other departments."

And I continued my trip to various other addresses.

...All of us remember cases of attacks on police workers in order to take their weapons. There is also a certain loss of weapons from army units and militarized guard formations. Such cases have been reported in the newspapers repeatedly. But here are some others.

In May of last year a homemade revolver and eight cartridges were confiscated from citizen Shatrov.

Literally a couple of days ago some policemen on patrol confiscated a foreign-made pistol with a silencer from some criminals.

How many more weapons are being passed on through various hands? This alarms all of us and, of course, police organs as well. But investigations are conducted only for known cases and concerning the same thefts.

Here is what the chief of the expert criminal administration of the GUVD, S. Filatov, had to say:

"In our laboratories we receive weapons that have been voluntarily turned over, found at random, confiscated from criminals, and discovered at the scene of the crime. With the weapons that have been confiscated from criminals we conduct test firings to determine whether they have been used previously for criminal purposes. In a year we inspect 2,500-3,500 fire arms. And we get literally everything—from pistols to automatics.

Up to ten "pieces" each day! And this is just in Moscow! Both confiscated and turned in. But what about those that are not confiscated and not turned in?... How many are there, approximately?

For an answer I went to the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The department chief, V. Filippov, spread out iron cases in front of me, one after another. There was everything and anything here. Makarov and Tokarev pistols (TT), Smith and Wesson revolvers, Mausers and Walters, small Brownings, and huge Colts. Handguns, rifles, automatics, and various improvisations—made both by amateurs and professionals. Where did these weapons come from?

"With rare exceptions," said the man with whom I was talking, "they have been 'inherited' from the war. Even if one does not count those stolen from the army and the police, the people have plenty of illegally kept weapons. In a year, for various kinds of investigations we receive 4,000-5,000 rifled weapons. According to our figures, the number of unregistered hunting weapons among the population reaches into the hundreds of thousands, if not millions. This would be enough to last many years for entire groups of bandits, robbers, and racketeers who want to arm themselves.

"A certain number of them, albeit a small number, come to us as contraband from abroad. There are such weapons in our 'collection.'"

The Main Administration for State Customs Control under the USSR Council of Ministers has the figures on contraband. The department chief V. Tugarev spoke with me.

"According to official figures, last year in the country's airports alone we confiscated 250 firearms, 86,177 blade weapons, and 411 kilograms of explosive substances. It is strange, but every third contraband operator is a military serviceman: 980 people, of whom 60 were senior officers and 320 junior officers. And they were by no means 'Afghans'—they were inspected not by customs but by public inspection commissions. These were people serving in the Armed Forces abroad. They account for dozens of cases of bringing in firearms and explosive substances, and hundreds of cases of bringing in cartridges. But keep in mind that we conduct only selective inspections, which means that the state of affairs could possibly be even worse."

After such discussions I came to the conclusion it is as bad as it can be. Shots are heard first here then there, and our compatriots are the victims of criminals. There is no need to speak about organized crime...

But how does the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs assess this situation? I asked the deputy minister of internal affairs, the chief of the GUVD of the Mosgorispolkom, Lieutenant General P. Bogdanov, this question.

"One can understand the interest in this question on the part of the public and the press. The situation with respect to arms has become very serious, if not tragic. I shall give a couple of figures. Criminal charges of illegal possession and bearing of arms were brought against 329 people in Moscow in 1987; in 1988, 338; and during the 5 months of this year, 224. During these same periods crimes using weapons were committed by 140, 157, and 132 people respectively. We confiscated 514 weapons in 1987, 275 in 1988, and 198 during the 5 months of 1989.

Attacks on police workers in order to steal their weapons are never ending; these are the booty the criminals want.

Regardless of how large an operation they may conduct in the city, weapons are used in almost every case. The events in other republics—Nagorno-Karabakh, Uzbekistan—have shown that there are weapons there too and, worst of all, they are being used.

"An entire complex of measures is needed to somehow rectify the situation. The first is to tighten up the existing law. Article 218 of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Criminal Code and the corresponding articles of the criminal codes of the republics do not envision punishment for illegal possession of smooth-barreled hunting weapons. But it is these that many criminals use to fashion many of their sawed-off guns. The second is to strengthen the connection with the community, explain the legal norms to the population, and work jointly to reveal and confiscate weapons. Each case should be made public. At the same time, we support turning weapons in voluntarily, encouraging citizens who bring them in to the police departments. I call upon the readers of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA to help us discover 'illegal pieces.'

"I wish to emphasize especially," P. Bogdanov said in conclusion, "that I am not encouraging tattle tales and I am not trying to make anyone an informer, as we sometimes hear, but I am appealing to common sense. Significant results will not be achieved soon by the police alone."

Yes, practice shows that we are still a long way from being well off. But why is this? There is a law that prohibits possession of weapons, there are the police who are not left without work, and there are also...weapons in the hands of criminals. Perhaps in reality the law is not as strong as life requires it to be? I went to the USSR Ministry of Justice.

"Increasing the punishment for possessing and bearing firearms is not likely to lead to the desired results," says the deputy chief of the department, honored jurist of the RSFSR, V. Smorodinskiy. "For the law-abiding citizen does not have firearms and the criminal keeps them for 'business,' which usually carries much more serious punishment than for possessing 'pieces.' It is very doubtful that the criminal will voluntarily turn in his weapon that he has acquired with such difficulty.

"In order to confiscate weapons, it is necessary to find them. This is the most difficult part of the job for the police. Even if the police get information about weapons being stored in one apartment or another, what do they do? The law guarantees the inviolability of the home. The only legal way to confiscate them is a search, which can be conducted only if criminal charges have been brought.

"Of course, explanatory work produces results and this is where citizens should direct their efforts to raise the level of legal behavior. Can we expect rapid results? We shall not placate ourselves with illusions. Of course, first of all we must improve the work of legal protection organs considerably. It is also possible to beef up legislation."

...Since time immemorial, weapons have brought death, pain, and unhappiness to people. And this is true today as well. Just as I was leaving the building on Petrovka 38, the police teletype banged out: "the thieves threatened with a pistol," "a weapon was stolen from a policeman," "during the course of the operation a revolver was discovered"...

To what extent are all of us in danger? Alas, it is difficult to answer this, and it is difficult to sum up as well. It is always dangerous to look down the barrel of a gun, and there are hundreds of thousands of them everywhere. This means that we need extreme measures and society is waiting for them. Of course, we must achieve "disarmament" by all means, but the main thing is to eliminate the causes of the use of guns.

Report Views 3 Aug Supreme Soviet Debates

PM1008100589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Aug 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[TASS report: "At the First Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Excerpts] The USSR Supreme Soviet session continued work 3 August in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of R.N. Nishanov.

The USSR Council of Ministers submitted the draft USSR law "On Introducing Amendments and Additions to the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association)" for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The floor was given to L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for a report on this question.

When preparing this draft law, he said, the government worked on the basis that the path of radical economic reform is objectively necessary and is the only possible way to lead the Soviet economy out of the difficult situation in which it finds itself and that we have no course of action open to us other than to break the administrative-edict system of management which formed in the past and move to a qualitatively new system of economic management based on using economic methods of management, developing to the maximum the initiative and independence of enterprises and labor collectives, local organs, and soviets at all levels, and strengthening the link between the end results of economic activity and the real material and social position of the individual worker and the collective.

We work on the basis that, without making steady progress along the road of radical economic reform, it will be impossible to ensure substantial improvement in production efficiency and output quality or resolve social tasks—all of which is so necessary for the country. Without this it will be impossible to create a firm material basis for self-management and democratization both in the economy and in all other spheres of social life.

We also worked on the basis that we must make steady, firm, decisive progress along the path of reform without deviating from our planned course, allowing no slowing of pace, and, at the same time, avoiding hasty, ill-considered decisions.

Analysis of the law's application in practice makes it possible to draw several conclusions of fundamental importance. Actually, if we follow the chronology of economic reform, it began with the enforcement of the Law on the Socialist State Enterprise (Association) on 1 January 1988. The process of shaping the foundations of a rule-of-law economy began with this law. It was the initial legislative act on the basis of which all subsequent decisions have been made on improving planning and the finance and credit system, making the transition to wholesale trade in means of production, and improving the system of labor remuneration.

Experience has shown that the choice of this starting point for economic reform—namely, the choice of perestroyka as the starting point, perestroyka in the lower, primary levels, where the labor collectives function, all material wealth is created, and national income originates—is the right decision, the only right decision. Naturally, all other measures in the sphere of economic reform depend on the improvement of this law, which is why such attention is devoted to it and why any shortcomings and flaws are so keenly noticed.

Several days ago, the Supreme Soviet adopted a decision whereby the government has been instructed to draft a series of interconnected economic state laws by the fall session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: a law on ownership, a law on the lease system and lease relations, a law on a unified national taxation system, a law on socialist enterprise, a law on introducing amendments to the laws on the state enterprise and the cooperative system, and a law on land and land use. All these laws must be closely interlinked and represent an organic whole, because it is very difficult to take a major, substantial step forward in the sphere of economic reform without comprehensive, coordinated answers to these questions. This is no easy task, but we are resolved nevertheless to firmly and strictly carry it out and submit a package of interlinked laws to the fall session to further deepen economic reform.

Life demands that amendments be made to the adoption of these decisions at this session.

From what did we proceed and what formed the basis of the drafting of this document? I must say that some of the groundwork had already been done, including the following component parts.

First, we worked on the basis of scientific research by a number of institutes, including academy economic institutes, and their analysis of the law's practical application.

Second, we carefully analyzed proposals made at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and at the Supreme Soviet session and discussed at a number of meetings with representatives of worker labor collectives and leaders of Moscow enterprises.

Finally, the work of government organs within the commissions on economic reform also included work to generalize practice in applying the law and drew up proposals to improve it. All this together has made it possible to prepare the draft law which is being submitted for discussion, the speaker said. He stressed that it is a question of making amendments to the law which do not change its substance and basic content.

First of all, he continued, we worked on the basis of the need to give enterprises and their labor collectives the right to independently choose their forms of economic management. We feel it necessary and possible, in view of the development of the processes taking place in our society, to give enterprises, as independent socialist commodity producers, the right to operate in the securities market, issue shares to mobilize additional finance, make targeted loans, and conduct other similar operations.

Some enterprises are raising the question of broadening independence in the sale of output produced in excess of the state order. There are a series of norms in this respect, but, at the same time, there are a considerable number of enterprises, particularly in the fuel and raw material sectors of the economy, which are unable to exercise these rights because the state order accounts for 100 percent of their output volume and capacity. It would seem advisable, the speaker said, to make some changes to these norms. The state order must definitely be less than 100 percent. The speaker went on to dwell in detail on the problems of forming the state order in various sectors.

The report also examined the correlation between growth in wages and labor productivity. According to the trends which have taken shape this year, the amount of money invested by the population in savings bank accounts increases by R3 billion each month. In other words, since the Congress of USSR People's Deputies started work, the amount of money invested by the population in savings bank accounts has increased by R7 billion.

What is R1 billion? If you make a pile out of R100 notes, R1 billion is equivalent to a pile of R100 notes 1 kilometer high.

It is proposed to abolish the correlation between growth in wages and labor productivity and, in its place, before a unified national taxation system is adopted, it is proposed to introduce a system of progressive taxation on growth in wage funds.

The essence of this decision consists of the following: If growth in the wages fund does not exceed 3 percent of the level already reached, it will not be liable to taxation. This will make it possible to maintain growth in the population's monetary income and guarantee protection against the inflation processes taking place in the country. But if growth in the wages fund exceeds 3 percent, it will be taxed on a progressive scale.

It is proposed, the speaker stressed, to make one exception to this rule, having selected one unconditional priority: The system of progressive taxation will not apply to any enterprise, association, organization, or economic unit which ensures growth in its wages fund by increasing its output of consumer goods and services.

The speaker went on to dwell on ways of improving management structures. It is proposed, he said, to give labor collectives the possibility of the right to freely leave their associations, on the condition that they maintain their obligations stipulated by contract. It is also planned to give legislative backing to the right of all enterprises without exception to engage in foreign trade operations.

On behalf of the government, the speaker requested that the Supreme Soviet support these proposals and approve the draft law.

The proposed amendments are really revolutionary, S.S. Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, said, presenting a coreport on behalf of that committee. In the deputy's opinion, they will make it possible to introduce major changes to the economic situation in the country. The most important point is that the amendments proposed by the government guarantee that economic power will really be transferred directly to the working people and labor collectives.

Deputy V.I. Kisin spoke on behalf of the Soviet of the Union Commission on Questions of the Development of Industry, Power Engineering, Equipment, and Technology. He made specific proposals regarding the draft law and stressed the need to abolish as soon as possible all ordinances at variance with it. The USSR Council of Ministers must report to the fall session on measures taken to this end.

L.I. Abalkin then answered deputies' questions.

The following deputies took part in the discussion: N.I. Travkin, V.M. Desyatov, V.V. Bushuyev, R.A. Bykov, S.V. Seleznev, F.M. Burlatskiy, A.Ya. Neumyvakin, V.M. Ryabkov, N.S. Sazonov, A.K. Miloserdnyy, B.A. Levakin, A.A. Denisov, Ye.P. Belikhov, V.I. Kirillov, Yu.E. Andreyev, I.I. Zaslavskiy, B.Kh. Blayev, A.A. Sobchak, N.S. Glazkov, Ye.V. Kogan, M.L. Bronshteyn, S.Ya. Naumov, V.I. Trefilov, and V.N. Fominykh. They supported the draft law and expressed satisfaction with the USSR Council of Ministers' efficiency in drafting it and with the businesslike cooperation that has developed between the Supreme Soviet and the government. It was noted that labor collectives are being given the maximum rights possible in the specific economic situation that now exists in the country.

Deputies moved onto the vote, which was conducted individually for each chamber. By a majority vote, the USSR Supreme Soviet approved the proposed amendments and additions to the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

The chairman once again gave the floor to L.I. Abalkin, who said that there is a taxation question which must be tackled by a Supreme Soviet resolution in the form of temporary measures prompted by the extreme situation, to have a limited term of effect of 1 quarter and 1 year. This is because there are two connected norms concerning the correlation between growth in wages and labor productivity. Clearly, we cannot adopt only half of the resolution and abolish this correlation without introducing another regulator. This would only make the situation even worse.

One priority has been established and we must understand that we are sacrificing all other priorities for the sake of that one: the production of consumer goods and services for the population. Here all restrictions on wages and income have been removed. What you earn depends on how many of these goods you produce. This resolution, the speaker believes, could have instructed the government to draft a proposal on evolving a system of measures that would check speculative growth in prices or any rise in prices unconnected with real improvement in output quality. This is a serious matter of principle and society is concerned by this problem. This resolution also could have been supplemented by instructions to the government to draw up a system of anti-inflation measures within 2-3 months and submit them to the Supreme Soviet for consideration.

Following its discussion by deputies, the resolution on taxation of the wages fund of state enterprises and associations was adopted by the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

The Supreme Soviet heard a report from Yu.D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, on the main aspects of the plan for the development of the Soviet national economy for 1990 based on measures for the financial improvement of the country's economy. (The speech will be published).

Yu.D. Maslyukov answered deputies' questions. The Supreme Soviet will take his report into account when considering the plan for 1990 at the second session.

Deputy B.I. Oleynik, deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, gave a report on the work of the commission responsible for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

The sitting ended.

The session will continue work 4 August.

Committee Discusses Defense Industry Conversion

LD0408122489 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

The Supreme Soviet Committee on Defence and State Security discussed guidelines for a state plan to convert defence industries to civilian production on Thursday [3 August] evening.

The First Congress of People's Deputies has bound the government to finalise the plan this year. Industrial facilities and resources released as a result of conversion will mainly be redirected to expand the production of consumer goods and equipment for the agro-industrial sector, light industry, the food industry and others.

When announcing work to draw up the plan in the United Nations last December, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev called for an international group of experts to analyse the problems of conversion both in general and as applied to individual countries and regions. When addressing the European Council's Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg last July, he again proposed a joint working group to study conversion-related problems within the framework of the European Economic Commission.

Speakers at the committee meeting noted the vast amount of work ahead to readjust production facilities and technologies.

It is essential to make specific recommendations on how to use the potentialities of defence industries most effectively, by concentrating them in priority areas, they said.

Deputies at the same time stressed the importance of effecting conversion in a way that will not worsen the material position of personnel working in the defence industries and that production standards.

Although the discussion was of a purely preliminary nature, committee members made quite a few specific proposals which will be taken into account in preparing the plan.

Congress Credentials Commission Chairman Cited

PM0908155189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "In Congress of USSR People's Deputies Credentials Commission"]

[Text] A sitting of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies Credentials Commission took place in the Kremlin 3 August. A report was heard from V.P. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for the election of USSR people's deputies, "on the work of the central electoral commission for the election of USSR people's deputies with citizens' letters and proposals";

On the results of the repeat elections of the USSR people's deputy for Menzelinskiy territorial electoral okrug No 389, Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic;

On the results of the voting for Smolenskiy national-territorial electoral okrug No 27, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

B.V. Gidaspov, chairman of the Credentials Commission, gave information on the work with citizens' letters and statements which have arrived at the Congress Credentials Commission.

The relevant resolutions were adopted on the questions discussed. Then the draft provision on the Congress of USSR People's Deputies Credentials Commission was examined.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent B.V. Gidaspov commented on the results of the sitting. One of the main questions which we examined today was work with letters, he noted. It must be said that letters from voters, the letters to the central electoral commission and the letters which have come directly addressed to the credentials commission, give serious food for thought. In all the central electoral commission has received over 16,000 letters and telegrams while the credentials commission has recently received over 400. For convenience in work we have put them in files, dividing them into six groups. The first includes letters concerning violations during the holding of the elections. The mail attests that the law on elections which we adopted before has shortcomings so that it was virtually impossible to hold the elections absolutely ideally. One way or another we encountered deviations from the procedures.

That is why the credentials commission believes that the law on elections of people's deputies should be radically changed or better still revoked and reworked anew, the commission's chairman said.

The next group of letters concerns violations of norms of morality, distortions of biographical information, and so forth.

As for violations of ethical norms during election campaigns, the commission chairman noted, it must be said that the political culture of society is still not high enough and there have been cases where the candidate deputies themselves and especially the support groups behaved unethically. This was expressed in the leaflets, in deputies' statements, and so forth. But nonetheless these violations did not affect the results of the voting and also cannot serve as grounds for depriving deputies of their mandates.

And the last group of letters addressed to the credentials commission attests that not all deputies are seeking rapidly to embark on the fulfillment of the mandates and promises given. We will pass on and show these letters to the deputies themselves so that they can draw conclusions for themselves.

Our work, B.V. Gidaspov said in conclusion, will continue until the powers of the Congress of People's Deputies run out. The credentials commission is a permanent commission of the Congress.

I believe that the voters, having read this interview, will send letters on voters' mandates to the deputies themselves and letters on the violation of procedural norms to the commissions which will draft the new law. As for the credentials commission itself, it intends to examine questions of the recall of deputies in accordance with the status of deputies.

Kulikov on Veterans Committee's Work

LD2007131589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Jul 89

[Text] In Moscow today at the USSR Supreme Soviet session the commissions and committees are at work. Many of the pressing problems in our life, priority tasks are being discussed. Our correspondent, Vladimir Korablev, talks with Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Georgiyevich Kulikov, deputy chairman of the committee of war and labor veterans.

[Begin recording] [Korablev] I would like to ask you to tell us briefly about the work that is underway at the moment in your committee.

[Kulikov] What I would like to say is that our committee consists of 38 people. The committee has two working groups. One group concentrates its attention on concern for war veterans of the Soviet Army and internationalists. The second group is engaged on questions concerning invalids. According to a worked out plan approved by our committee, questions of social security, of protection for war and labor veterans and invalids are being examined by this group. One of the main issues is to resolve the question of provision with pensions of that category of veterans who have small pensions and little security. In the second place we have posed the question of providing housing for war and labor veterans and invalids.

[Korablev] Please tell me how your work as a people's deputy, and that of the other people's deputies, of the all-union organization of war and labor veterans is organized.

[Kulikov] To be fair, I have to say that in the first few days when the Supreme Soviet is in progress, in the main the Supreme Soviet members are engaged solely in examining letters, meetings with those people who come here to resolve questions on the spot, and other people's deputies—we have 75 of them—are working on the spot. They meet with people, solve questions that the members of the electorate put to them, and I think the first shoots are sprouting from this good beginning, this good work. Here I would like to talk about the way that they are working directly, where their efforts are concentrated, on what questions, and what kind of results their work produces.

[Korablev] That is a very interesting question.

[Kulikov] Yes, since it is very interesting it is probably very difficult to give a precise answer. Everything depends on how active the people's deputies are. There has to be extremely close contact with the local party bodies, the local soviet bodies, in the ministries which are partially engaged in the concerns over war and labor veterans and with other departments. I, for example, see my task in displaying extremely great concern for all the servicemen who are part of the cuts, who are being made redudant from the ranks of the Soviet Army, about the provision of housing, jobs, and financial maintenance. Incidentally, among our people's deputies others are also working on this issue. I have to say that our committee consists of experienced people who have been through the great school of life. They are highly qualified, well-trained people.

Karpenko Reflects on Supreme Soviet Session

PM1008093989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Igor Karpenko article under the rubric "On Topics of the Day": "Formation"]

[Text] How times differ when you measure them in terms of the intensity of events, their significance, and their political meaning. And it is difficult to find a more convincing and clearer example in the life of the country and of each of us than the last 2 months, whose sense and rhythm, I think, were wholly determined by the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet's first session. Each sitting was the lead news of the day for millions of people, the chief event, and a common subject of thought, argument, and discussion for millions of people.

For the first time our Soviet parliament worked openly and publicly, for everyone to see, which made us direct participants and developed in each of us our own understanding of the problems discussed, our own position, and finally, our own assessment of the activity both of the Supreme Soviet and of any of its deputies. And for this reason each of us—and this is also for the first time—has his own opinion on the session's results.

Of course, not everything in its work was beyond reproach—many people disliked the excessively protracted discussion of the composition of the government, whose formation even now is still incomplete. But for the first time both for the deputies and for the entire people it made it possibly to fully reveal sore points in the most important sectors of the economy and their organic link with economic, social, and national problems. We started to realize by what and how the country lives, and we really started to become its citizens.

Yes, of course, many deputies could be accused of lacking professionalism, logic, and specialist knowledge, and the standards of debate left a lot to be desired. But the other side of the coin is that for the first time the deputies expressed their opinion in an uncompromising fashion and defended their position vigorously. And it is precisely this which turns the Supreme Soviet after many long years from a formal and showy registrar of departmental laws and decrees into a truly supreme organ of legislative and administrative power which really influences the progress of events, guiding them in the interests of its voters and of the people.

And one could not fail to see how our parliament matured from sitting to sitting, how deputies' speeches became more profound and meaningful, and how their competence on the most complex questions grew rapidly. We are all witnessing the process of the formation and establishment of the Soviet parliament, which is accumulating professional experience, creating fundamentally new relations and contacts with the government, consistently and confidently upholding the positions and principles of the Congress of People's Deputies, and firmly defending voters' interests.

There is no point in enumerating what precisely has been done by the USSR Supreme Soviet's first session—daily reports on its work have been published and its most important political results were summed up in M.S. Gorbachev's concluding speech at the last sitting on 4 August.

It can only be noted that over the course of this period both the members of the Supreme Soviet and the people's deputies who are not members of it managed to test their strength in all spheres of competence of the country's supreme organ of power—in both the legislative and the administrative spheres—and made a number of urgent decisions necessitated by extreme situations. And the quality of these decisions and the approach to them are also a fine testimony to the establishment of a fully effective Soviet parliament which correctly senses the pulse of society's life and the people's demands.

But I would like to talk about one result in particular. It is not only the parliament which has matured and accumulated experience. The country and its peoples have traveled this path with it—our public and civic self-awareness have been formed anew and a new level of glasnost and democracy has been established. In this sense both the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet's first session were a truly crucial event in Soviet society's life. We have changed. And this is the best, most reliable guarantee of the irreversibility of the democratic processes begun by perestroyka.

Slyunkov Opens Mass Media Conference

LD0908182689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1641 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug (TASS)—A conference of leaders of the central mass information media took place today at the CPSU Central Committee buildings. It was opened by N.N. Slyunkov, CPSU Central Committee [CC] Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary.

V.M. Chebrikov, CPSU CC Politburo member and CPSU CC secretary, gave a report on the course of the preparation for the forthcoming CPSU CC plenum on matters of the party's national policy. He noted that in renewing society it is impossible not to also renew national policy. Analysis of the processes that are taking place has led to the conclusion that in the field of public relations, not only is rectification of the mistakes of the past necessary, but also radical transformations.

The point is a new national policy in contemporary conditions, for which the fundamental principles are equality of the peoples and equality of people, regardless of nationality, and internationalism. The mass information media must constantly keep this in view.

The deliverer of the report dwelt on problems that are the subject of heated debates today: soviet federation development and the correlation of the competence of the USSR and the union republics and other matters are primarily implied.

He stressed that the implementation of the new approaches in interethnic relations would strengthen our federation, each of the union republics would become a truly sovereign state, and the rights of all autonomous formations would be extended as well. In this area the press, radio, and television must conduct a broad dialogue.

Touching upon the nature of current propaganda, the CPSU CC secretary pointed to the fact that it should be unobtrusive and should capture the moods of the people. Erroneous judgments and interpretations must not be permitted.

The natural increase in national self-awareness, the broad scope that has been opened up by democratization, perestroyka, and glasnost are often used for their own selfish ends by all kinds of careerists and irresponsible people who would like, by playing on national feelings, to tackle their own tasks, which are far from being the interests of the people. Here the journalist's pen must be held by a firm and truly party hand.

Yu.I. Ryzhov, deputy head of the Department of Party Construction and Cadre Policy, acquainted the participants in the conference with the particular characteristics of holding reports-back and elections in the party and of extraordinary sessions of Soviets of People's Deputies. V.M. Falin, head of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department, provided information about the events connected with the outbreak of World War II.

N.N. Slyunkov gave the concluding remarks. He noted the growing responsibility of the mass media in implementing the party Central Committee's ideas on overcoming the difficulties in interethnic relations. The tone of the discussion which have developed around the nationalities problem should be constructive; it must move away from emotionally charged disputes toward a calm search for practical solutions.

Regarding questions connected with holding reports-back and elections in the party and of extraordinary sessions of the soviets of people's deputies, the CPSU secretary emphasized the need for an in-depth and critical interpretation of the problems of local life, the activity of party organizations and the restructuring of the soviets.

A serious analysis of the work that has been done by the supreme bodies of people's power, a demonstration of the crucial importance of the USSR Congress People's Deputies and the first session of the Supreme Soviet in the life of our society and of the deepening of the restructuring processes, should also become the direct obligation of the party press. Particular attention should be devoted to the organization of the fulfilment of decisions adopted at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Shcherbitskiy Delivers Message to Veterans

PM2407131589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 2 Jul 89 pp 2, 3

[RATAU report: "To Display Lofty Social Activeness, To Help the Party in Its Constructive Activity. Meeting with Party, War, and Labor Veterans in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpt] It was already reported that members and candidate members of the [Ukrainian Communist Party] Central Committee Politburo had a meeting with party, war, and labor veterans living in Kiev, USSR people's deputies elected from republic veterans' organizations, and the chairmen of oblast veterans' councils and of Kiev City Veterans' Council in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The participants in the meeting were addressed by **V.V. Shcherbitskiy,** member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. It was with particular emotion, he said, that we invited you—party, war, and labor veterans—here to the Central Committee. It can be said without exaggeration: Your deeds and your lives reflect our country's entire history and the most diverse events in it—bright, sad, at times even tragic. And our people are right to value and respect those who have lived a hard life and whose loyalty to duty and spiritual purity have endured through the years.

This is why today we would like to consult you and to hear your opinion regarding the perestroyka processes occurring in the republic, regarding the progress of perestroyka as a whole. On the other hand, we of course realize that veterans have quite a few of their own problems and daily life concerns. In this context, let us discuss together what more could be done to improve their living conditions.

First of all, V.V. Shcherbitskiy went on to say, allow me to dwell briefly on some results of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which marked the conclusion of the first stage of the political reform being implemented in conformity with the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference decisions.

My task is made easier by the fact that no doubt you, like all Soviet people, and thanks to television, radio, and the press, followed its work with great attention. In this context, it can be said without exaggeration: The Congress provided the most graphic lesson of glasnost and democratization in the period of perestroyka. **The reports by Comrades M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov, based on the 4 years of experience of perestroyka, presented a specific program for the implementation of large-scale transformations in all spheres of economic, political, and social life.**

And despite the unusually sharp and multidimensional polemics and the diversity of opinions which reflected the interests of all strata of society, deputies were unanimous on the main issue—in their desire to more fully activate all the levers of perestroyka. We all witnessed how a quest that was far from easy gave birth to a new model of state power, combining Lenin's concept of soviets with traditional parliamentarianism.

New organs of state power are now functioning. It is well known that the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, commissions, and committees have already started work on implementing the tasks set by the Congress.

In the course of the implementation of the second stage of political reform, new organs of power will be created in republics, oblasts, cities, and rayons. Without going into the details of this extensive and complex work, let me only mention that the republic is implementing measures to provide further legislative backing for political reform. Draft laws on amendments and additions to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution and on the election of republic people's deputies and local soviet people's deputies will soon be published for national discussion.

Today I would like to single out the following from among the multitude of problems at the center of debate at the Congress.

First: It is well known that the attempts which were made to raise doubts about the party's ability to successfully conduct perestroyka, to set the party and the soviets against one another, and at times to even directly attack the party were resolutely rejected. It was emphasized most definitelty: None but the CPSU, being the ruling party and society's political vanguard, is the bearer of the ideas of perestroyka, its main driving force, and the guarantor of its irreversibility. Of course this does not rule out but, on the contrary, presupposes the need for dialogue with other social forces.

Now it is important to give real meaning to the familiar formula that the party committee is the organ of political leadership. **While reviving genuine people's power, it is incumbent on party committees to strengthen the soviets' authority to the utmost and retain only political functions: elaboration of policy, selection and education of cadres, monitoring of execution.**

Work is being done in our republic, just like in the country as a whole, to delineate the functions of party and soviet organs, even though this work is not being done with equal success and persistence everywhere. Now we are striving to galvanize this work, bearing in mind the critical remarks and proposals by deputies regarding the activity of party organizations and committees and of Communists in leadership positions in economic organs and organizations.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy also emphasized the importance of ensuring public order and discipline everywhere and of stepping up the struggle against crime and breaches of the law.

Second: The attention of Congress participants was constantly focused on interethnic problems. This is understandable. It is impossible to disagree with the conclusion that a number of negative factors accumulated in interethnic relations over many years on end. **The overwhelming majority of people's deputies issued a clear and precise warning in their speeches: The loss of our greatest asset—the friendship of peoples—poses the threat of irreparable damage.**

It is well known that preparation is now under way for a CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations. The stance of the republic's communists on this issue was clearly confirmed by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held last May. We are convinced: **The Ukrainian people will stick firmly to internationalist positions under any circumstances.**

But despite this we naturally give special attention to the situation in some of the republic's regions. Specifically, in the course of preparation for the CPSU Central Committee plenum work is being done on the questions of more fully satisfying the national and cultural demands of dense communities of ethnic groups by creating national-territorial formations. This is complex and delicate work. Here it is really necessary to look before you leap. After all, most of the republic's villages, rayons, and cities are now multinational.

We believe that the creation of national-cultural societies would be an effective means for improving interethnic relations. An entire network of such associations—Polish, Hungarian, Jewish, Armenian, and other societies—has already started spreading in the Ukraine.

Third: Regarding practical returns from the Congress decisions, it is exceptionally important to ensure that the Congress not only identifies the need but also resolves a number of immediate tasks associated with raising the living standards of some population groups. These measures will affect 22 million people.

We are talking, V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted, **of raising the minimum amounts of pensions, lifting sundry restrictions on payment of pensions to people at work, improving**

material conditions for Great Patriotic War veterans, and so on. Since all this affects you veterans to a considerable extent, let me dwell in more detail on these questions as they affect our republic.

A total of R7.9 billion will be appropriated from next year's republic budget for the payment of pensions and benefits—in other words an additional appropriation of almost R1.7 billion. As a result of this, about 7 million people will experience real social changes in their lives.

Where will these funds be specifically channeled? They will be primarily used to raise the minimum amount of pension for workers, employees, and collective farm [kolkhoz] members and to eliminate difference in pension provision for them (up to R70 per month). You must agree that this is a substantial political as well as social measure. The minimum amount of pension for invalids will be increased, as will be the amount of pension payable to widows of deceased servicemen whose benefits will be equalized with those enjoyed by Great Patriotic War veterans. It is planned to ensure free supply of medicines for Great Patriotic War veterans and widows of deceased servicemen, and also to give the right to free use of urban transport to war veterans and persons awarded orders and medals for selfless labor during the war years. All restrictions on the remuneration of pensioners' labor will be lifted, regardless of the amount of pension received.

I would also like to add, V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted, that other special measures have been taken to accelerate the development of the social sphere in the republic. You will obviously be interested to learn that the construction of buildings for party and soviet organs has been cut back by R46 million. A number of buildings under construction have been handed over to meet the needs of health care services, including buildings meant for the Lvov Oblast Party Committee [obkom], the Lvov Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblispolkom], the Mirgorod City Party Committee [gorkom], the Mirgorod City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom], the Donetsk City Budennovskiy Rayon Party Committee [raykom], the Budennovskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee [rayispolkom], and others. A further 36 buildings to be vacated by party committees will be handed over to be used as facilities for social purposes by the end of the 5-year plan period.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Administration of Affairs has handed over to the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health a children's health complex for the treatment of disabled children. The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health Fourth Main Administration has handed over to the Kiev City Health Care Department two health centers with all their equipment, a pharmacy, and a clinical laboratory. The "Lesnaya Polyana" Sanatorium in Pushche-Voditse near Kiev City has been converted for the medical rehabilitation of internationalist soldiers. Six apartment blocks comprising 530 apartments, whose construction was commissioned by the Central Committee Administration of Affairs and the republic Council of Ministers and State Planning Committee, have been handed over to the Kiev Gorispolkom for use by internationalist soldiers, veterans, and other other families enjoying benefits.

In this context V.V. Shcherbitskiy dwelt on the important problem of the provision of housing for servicemen, including those discharged into the reserve or retired. As a consequence of the fact that a number of oblispolkoms (primarily in Vinnitsa, Voroshilovgrad, Zhitomir, Nikolayev, Odessa, Poltava, and Kharkov) fail to meet the targets set by the government regarding the allocation of housing, many servicemen and their families are forced to live in private apartments and put up with discomfort. In addition to this, as a result of cutbacks in the USSR Armed Forces it is expected that a large additional number of families of discharged servicemen will be arriving in the republic.

A few days ago the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee carefully examined this question and planned immediate measures to improve housing construction for the USSR Armed Forces. Party committees were instructed to step up their monitoring of the fulfillment of government resolutions on the provision of apartments for servicemen and for people either discharged into the reserve or retired, and also on temporary housing, residence permits, and employment for those discharged from the USSR Armed Forces as a result of cutbacks there.

Today, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said, it is impossible not to touch on one of the most acute questions, that of benefits and privileges. You know that the Congress of People's Deputies instructed the USSR Council of Ministers to submit to the Supreme Soviet by year's end an analysis of the prevailing system of benefits and privileges and to ensure maximum openness in this work. Similar work is being done in the republic, and the population will be kept informed about it.

The question of benefits and privileges was raised at last April's Kiev party gorkom plenum and in a number of mass media reports. A report on the results of an examination of this questions by the republic's Council of Ministers was published in Kiev newspapers 27-28 June.

As you realize, the problem of benefits and privileges is quite complex. They are enjoyed by many categories of working people, from railroad and metallurgy workers to agronomists and teachers. It is well known that medical services are organized on a preferential basis for Heroes of the Soviet Union and Heroes of Socialist Labor, USSR people's deputies and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies, scientists, cultural workers, and officials of party, soviet, and economic organs and the mass media. The regulations governing the provision of medical services for them are laid down by relevant USSR Council of Ministers decisions. The number of people attached to medical treatment institutions under the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health Fourth Main Administration increased in 1989 from 15,200 to 26,500. Party organ officials comprise less than 10 percent of those benefiting from these services.

The government has instructed the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health to submit proposals for a review of the list of people attached to the Fourth Main Administration, to eliminate existing differences in the treatment of patients in different medical institutions and in departmental sanatoriums and rest homes, and to make further use of the departmental health care base to meet the population's needs.

It was also noted that preferential trade services in Kiev City are enjoyed by 757,400 people in the food commodities group and by 60,000 in the nonfood commodities group. They include Great Patriotic War veterans and invalids, personal pensioners of union and republic status, diabetics, elderly citizens living on their own, and large families.

Kiev City enterprises have organized a system of advance orders and visits by mobile trade outlets, which covers more than 540,000 workers and employees. Regarding officials of republic soviet and party organs, they do not benefit from any preferential trade services at all. Public catering for these categories of workers is organized on a cash basis at dining rooms where foodstuffs are delivered without any exception to general principles.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium described as inadequate the work being done by the republic's Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Consumer Services, and State Agro-industrial Committee and by Kiev Gorispolkom to take action on critical remarks, to eliminate shortcomings in services, and to ensure glasnost and broad availability of information to the population on these matters.

It is incumbent on all the aforementioned ministries and departments and Kiev Gorispolkom to continue their work to improve the system of services to the population in conformity with established norms and the principles of social justice. In particular, special attention will be given to the development of the network of trade and consumer service enterprises and their material and technical base, and there will be effective monitoring of the distribution of goods in acutely short supply.

To continue: It can be said that extraordinary measures are being taken in the republic to ensure **faster growth of the production of consumer goods and services** compared with money incomes. We have considerable untapped reserves to achieve this. For example, the Ukrainian SSR ranks ninth among union republics in per capita production of nonfood goods. We have set the task of increasing consumer goods output by R4.7 million over and above the 5-year plan targets this year, and by more than R8 billion next year. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee instructed the republic's Council of Ministers to elaborate a specific ramified program on these matters for 1990 and for the 13th 5-Year-Plan period, basing it on oblast, city, and rayon programs.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted that the [Ukrainian Communist Party] Central Committee Politburo and the government are implementing additional measures for the implementation of **the Food Program** in the republic and for the improvement of food supplies for the population. For this purpose, efforts are being made for the consolidation of the economy of kolkhozes and state farms, the improvement of material and technical supplies, and the social development of the countryside. During the 13th 5-Year-Plan period we must increase the output of food commodities by 26-30 percent in order to ensure stable food supplies. Specific avenues of work to attain the set goals were laid down in the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions and the relevant government resolutions which have been published in the press.

It is understandable that **the main way to implement all urgent social tasks and the most important source for recouping the additional expenditure associated with this is to boost the efficiency of social production.**

This was discussed in detail at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee May (1989) Plenum. It identified the general indicator reflecting the intensification of our economy's social orientation—the growth of national income and its utilization. National income in the republic is planned to increase by 3.8 percent next year (with an average annual growth of 3.6 percent over the 4 years), which will make it possible to meet the 5-year-plan target as a whole. Moreover, the proportion of national income channeled into consumption and nonproduction construction will reach 85.6 percent against 83.7 according to the 5-year plan. There can be no question that the improvement of the economy's health and the intensification of its social orientation will be positively affected also by the planned countrywide measures aimed at reducing defense expenditures and the volumes of industrial construction and incomplete construction projects.

In order to achieve the set goals, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government are targeting their efforts to ensure that positive trends in socioeconomic development are consolidated over the next few years, that stagnation phenomena in the economy are fully overcome, and that the social program's fulfillment and the environment's protection are guaranteed.

I would like to note the following in this context, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said. Here in the Central Committee and the Politburo we are doing a lot of hard work. But if we appraise the results of our work as a whole, we cannot say that we are satisfied with them. At all sittings and on an almost daily basis, in a comradely but principled fashion, we analyze the state of affairs and our omissions and shortcomings and criticize the comrades responsible for this regardless of who they might be. This helps us to gain a deeper perception of perestroyka processes and to galvanize the work of republic and local organs.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy then dwelt on some questions concerning **the social status of veterans and their involvement in various spheres of activity.** We consider this to be very important. We are, after all, talking about 10.5 million people or one-fifth of the republic's population. Many of them stay on in the ranks even after retirement on pension, remain enviably energetic, and display lofty social activeness. Approximately one-third of pensioners are still working in production. Many veterans play an active role in the work of elected party organs, soviets of people's deputies, and self-management organs at places of residence.

Only 2 years have passed since veterans' councils were set up, but many of them have already succeeded in winning the people's respect. The most important avenue for work by the veteran public is the education of young people, who are becoming an increasingly active political force. The veterans can render unique assistance in this work.

We are talking primarily about **the international education** of our replacements. The main goal is to nurture among young people, beginning at childhood, the feeling of belonging to a united family which has always augmented our multinational state's might and invincibility. The older generation has learned the meaning of internationalism in action not by hearsay, not from books or movies. Making our young men and women aware of this truth is a task of major educational and, if you like, political importance.

This applies also in full to an important question like young people's **patriotic education.** Yes, we exert all our strength in our striving for peace. But we find absolutely unacceptable any attempts to discredit our army in the eyes of the public, to drive a wedge between it and the people, to sow doubts in the correctness of the cause it serves.

Of course, the prevailing system of patriotic education today must be improved with due consideration for the democratization of social life and other contemporary factors. Here we cannot manage without the representatives of a generation which has a unique experience of life and combat—the former frontline soldiers. Their potential can be considerably expanded by a pooling of efforts with internationalist soldiers.

And now **about some specific problems concerning veterans' social security.** Here we have an exceptionally broad range of questions: employment, provision of medical services, food supplies, fuel, and much else that people need to lead a normal life in their declining years.

As you know, the republic has elaborated and is implementing measures to involve veterans in labor activity that is within their capacity. Last year alone, labor organs solved questions concerning the involvement of over 37,000 pensioners in social production. Enterprises have organized the systematic retraining of cadres who have reached pensionable age and of third category invalids. The national economy's sectors have 390 specialized enterprises, shops, and sections where pensioners and invalids work. Tens of thousands of pensioners are engaged in cooperative and individual labor activity or in lease collectives.

Oblasts, cities, and rayons are implementing the comprehensive "Concern" and "Veteran" programs, which were elaborated in the course of a study into elderly people's living conditions. The republic now has 393 social assistance sections, a Ukrainian branch of the Soviet Charity and Health Foundation has been set up, and eight territorial centers for social services to pensioners have opened. A block with 90 apartments for pensioners, with a social and consumer services complex and premises for labor activity, is now fully occupied in Kiev City. It would be good if this were to be done in all major cities. The republic now has 272 residential homes for the elderly and the disabled, housing more than 60,000 persons. Another 18 residential homes are under construction, including 5 in rural rayons. But the need for such institutions in the republic is still not satisfied. We expect to solve this task in the next 5-year-plan period.

I cannot fail to mention the fact that, as of 1 July last year, hundreds of thousands of people have been enjoying benefits provided under the USSR Council of Ministers and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions resolution "On Additional Measures To Improve Living Conditions for War and Labor Veterans."

Briefly, comrades, much is being done. But a number of problems are still awaiting solution. Many veterans find life difficult.

Meanwhile, the "Concern" and "Veteran" program coordination councils set up under oblispolkoms are virtually inactive in some oblasts. Evidently, the influence of the republic War and Labor Veterans' Council has hardly any effect on progress in the implementation of these programs. Here, without claiming that party, soviet, and economic organs are blameless, I would like to draw the attention of oblast veterans' councils to this. We would like to see veterans joining the trade unions more actively in workers' control. It seems important and necessary to appoint veterans' council delegates to soviet executive committees' [ispolkom] housing, consumer services, and social commissions. This would help to more quickly and more objectively solve questions of services to veterans, eliminate breaches in housing allocation and red tape in housing maintenance, ensure fuel supplies, and so on.

We are aware, V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted, that there is still a lot of bureaucratism, officialdom, and indifference toward veterans. I would like to unambiguously and clearly emphasize that the Central Committee and the government have struggled and will resolutely struggle against these disgraceful phenomena and will strictly punish the culprits. Help us in this work. This avenue will also be taken by party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms and by local ispolkoms.

Our main goal is to ensure that concern for man is not just proclaimed but is given real meaning, takes the form of specific deeds, and everything gets done from the heart. If we all, and we Communists in the first place, take this up properly, things will improve considerably. [passage omitted]

Zaykov Addresses 14 Jul Moscow Meeting

PM2807160189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 89 pp 1-2

[Account of speech by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU City Committee, delivered at 14 July plenum of Moscow City Party Organization's Control and Auditing Commission under the general heading: "Enhancing the Political Vanguard's Prestige"]

[Text] The control and auditing commissions set up in Moscow, in addition to a number of other large kray and oblast party organizations, occupy a key place in the whole system of party political work. With the formation of these commissions an important step was taken in realizing the guidelines of the 19th all-union party conference on the radical democratization of internal party life and the revival of Leninist principles of internal party control—which undoubtedly cannot fail to have a positive influence on the process of society's democratization as a whole. In the course of a broad experiment, experience of the work of unified control organs is to be accumulated, and the necessary materials on this question are to be prepared for the 28th CPSU Congress.

The party's Central Committee considers it the chief task of unified control organs to ensure reliable guarantees against manifestations of subjectivism, arbitrariness, and the influence of personal and chance circumstances on the implementation of party policy, to strengthen party and state discipline, and to deepen democratism in internal party life.

We are convinced that the most authoritative Communists and committed champions of perestroyka, who possess high political and moral qualities and vital experience of social work, who enjoy the trust of Communists and nonparty people, and who are capable of exercising party control in a consistent and principled manner, have been elected to the control and auditing commissions, as the Central Committee directed us to do.

The extensive powers granted to party control organs, the tasks given them, the experienced cadres recruited to work in them—all this must contribute to the process of democratizing internal party life and help to strengthen the principles of collective leadership of party organizations, to eliminate existing mistakes, and to prevent possible mistakes.

The discussion of the tasks of the control and auditing commissions of the city's party organizations at today's plenum of the city control and auditing commission is very closely linked with the way very important problems of enhancing the party's prestige and role in modern society were discussed in a sharp and principled manner at the June plenum of the Moscow CPSU City Committee [gorkom].

It was emphasized there that the activity of the city party organization does not fully meet the requirements of the present transitional period, which is characterized by the active politicization of public awareness, by broad pluralism of opinions, by a decisive shift toward genuine socialist democracy, and, at the same time, by the presence of serious difficulties in the economy and the social sphere. The organizational and ideological unity of Communists and the purity of the party's ranks are more important than ever today for the successful resolution of the tasks of perestroyka.

As you know, today's newspapers carry Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the recent plenum of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee.

As always, the positions of the party leadership on key questions of policy at the contemporary stage were set forth capaciously and with the utmost clarity, and the attention of Communists and, above all, of party organs was focused on the priority tasks of the day. From this viewpoint it is necessary to formulate specific measures to improve all party political work, including control and auditing work, and to reflect them in the resolution of today's control and auditing commission plenum.

All our activity must be based on—and our everyday concerns must center on—what is of concern to the people today, what is being actively discussed in labor collectives and at rallies, and what awaits a political solution. The times demand of party organizations vigorous actions in the transformations which are being implemented.

The all-Moscow party discussion begun on the initiative of the CPSU gorkom will make it possible to define more clearly ways to accelerate the perestroyka of political work forms and methods among the masses and to bring them into line with the demands of the day. In our opinion, the control and auditing commissions are to play an active role in this.

I believe that today we already have the right to ask ourselves: What has the creation of control and auditing commissions given to the city and rayon party organizations, and has it brought a new quality of work?

The chief point, I believe, is that, first, all control activity in the party is concentrated, as it were, in the same hands and, second, the gorkom and rayon party committees [raykoms] have acquired a real, skilled, permanent opponent in the control and auditing commissions. This fact has a positive effect on the development of democratic processes in internal party life.

Control organs have been given the right—and they use this right—to give assessments and to make corrections to the activity of not only communist leaders of soviet and economic organs but also party committee secretaries and party apparatus workers. They channel efforts into the struggle against conservatism, subjectivism, arbitrariness, demagoguery, and other bureaucratic perversions in the activities of party and state cadres and stand guard over party and state discipline.

I would like to note something else in this connection. You frequently hear that party organs, including the party gorkom and the control and auditing commissions, are still subject to an old disease—an excessive passion for examining and resolving purely economic questions. Indeed, economic concerns connected with the most urgent problems of Muscovites are always with us. And it cannot be otherwise: The city's life support problems are very painful. But we realize that one way to resolve them is to enhance the responsibility of Communists, particularly communist leaders, for the sectors entrusted to them. This is a very important area of party work which must not be weakened—we do not have the right.

It is another matter that it is inadmissible to switch to the direct adoption of managerial decisions, that is, to supplant economic organs and engage in managing the national economy.

We spoke of this at the last Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum with regard to the work of party committees and primary party organizations. The plenum participants were unanimous that the party must influence the activities of soviet and economic organs and public organizations exclusively through the Communists working in them. Thus, these Communists must be accountable for the way their work helps to enhance the party's prestige.

Control over the way the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectoral program will be realized is assuming special significance. Only exceptionally harmonious and organized work on fulfilling it will produce results. The responsibility of Communists in this matter is exceptionally high. For the "Progress-95" program was formulated on the party gorkom's initiative and with its active participation.

We agreed at the plenum that we were putting it forward as the economic part of the Moscow City party organization's election platform for the local soviet elections. The most important task is to prevent delays in its fulfillment and to implement everything planned. People resolve this task. There is every opportunity here for leaders to display initiative and really show their allegiance to perestroyka. But there must also be special accountability for failures.

Of course, the task is not set in such a way that control over the fulfillment of "Progress-95" is entrusted entirely to the control and auditing commissions. The main organizational role here is allocated to party raykoms. At the same time it will be correct if the control and auditing commissions regularly turn to the "Progress-95" program, consider the personal responsibility of Communists whose bureaucratism, arbitrariness, or irresponsibility cause the matter to suffer, and give them a corresponding party assessment.

The resolution of social problems in the life of the city today is a very acute political question. I would deem it necessary to support the control and auditing commissions' actions in this area.

But I would say that control work must be less chancy. It is necessary to select objects for control, correctly define priorities and areas in work, and purposefully resolve the set tasks, getting to the bottom of the sources of mistakes, violations, and abuses. To see the matter through to the end, draw specific conclusions regarding those who obstruct the matter, and make political assessments of their misdemeanors. Unfortunately, such consistency is plainly lacking at present.

Many facts unworthy of the title of communist are exposed by the city control and auditing commission. But why do people frequently get the impression that everything has still got the brakes on and that disgraceful things still do not elicit the proper response in such cases?

In actual fact, this is undoubtedly not so. I am sure that the correct conclusions are made and that they determine the degree of everyone's responsibility and the party penalties imposed. But, clearly, it must be ensured that people know about them.

And something else in this connection. Control and auditing commissions must, of course, determine primarily the degree of party responsibility of guilty persons. But this must be adequate and commensurate with the deed. Representatives of law-enforcement organs, including the city prosecutor's office, work on control and auditing commissions. They know of the materials of party checks. Clearly, it is a matter both of party conscience and of official duty for them to use, when necessary, the force of socialist law, before which all are equal—Communists and nonparty people, leaders and ordinary working people.

It is necessary to do all this openly, in the public eye, and to report in the press the measures adopted. In general, glasnost in the control and auditing commissions' activity must be paramount. It is like a safe-conduct against incorrect behavior in society and against mistakes for some people, and against extremes for others.

I will note, incidentally, that fair accountability and justified exactingness have never been, nor could they be, synonymous with "punitive functions." To ascribe such functions to control and auditing commissions means trying to discredit them.

It is another matter that party committees, too, must not hide behind the backs of the control and auditing commissions and shift onto them all the complex work of instilling order and discipline in party organizations. It must not be forgotten that this is their obligation under the CPSU statutes.

It is inadmissible for party committees to lower the personal responsibility of Communists for the entrusted task and essentially cease examining these questions. The most rigorous measures of party punishment, even including expulsion from the party, must be applied to Communists who undermine the party's prestige by their actions or inaction.

Violators of party and state discipline and party morality and suppressors of criticism must not be tolerated. Communists who abuse their official position and deviate from the principles and norms of party life and party comradeship must receive a party assessment. Both party committees and control and auditing commissions must be unified in this—which will only help to strengthen the role of party organizations and to enhance Communists' personal responsibility for the implementation of party policy.

By virtue of the tasks entrusted to them, control and auditing commissions have today encountered such a phenomenon as people leaving the party at their own request. Behind every instance there lies a person's destiny and, frequently, a whole tangle of various complex problems, whose unresolved nature leads to such a step as a break with the party. Of course, no one must be kept in the party by force. But a very serious analysis of the causes giving rise to these phenomena is needed. It is necessary to pay attention to the political health of primary party organizations, dig down to the bottom of the matter, as it were, and make corresponding recommendations to party raykoms and the gorkom.

It seems to me that there cannot be disunity in the activities of raykoms and rayon control and auditing commissions or of the gorkom and the city control and auditing commission.

Of course, functions must not be merged or supplanted. Each of these party organs has its own powers: Some are directive organs, others control organs. But there must also be harmony in work, for without this it is impossible. Many problems have to be both examined together and resolved through joint efforts.

At the same time instances where raykom secretaries, primarily using their great potential in resolving organizational-technical and economic questions, try to make the control and auditing commissions dependent on the CPSU raykom are inadmissible. Such cases must be resolutely suppressed. It is the duty of party committees to ensure that control organs have everything they need for work both from the economic viewpoint and from the viewpoint of information backup.

Members of control and auditing commissions must have access to all documents at the party committee's disposal and the opportunity to attend sessions of its bureau and secretariats. It is necessary to get away from the practice whereby party committees ask control organs to investigate particular negative conflict situations in the socioeconomic sphere, thereby involving them in resolving economic questions. It is necessary to avoid the supplanting of soviet organs and people's control committees by control and auditing commissions and, where necessary, to make an assessment of the activities of the Communists working in them.

Control and auditing commissions' decisions on the questions under examination must be constructive and indicate ways to rectify the shortcomings exposed. At the same time their fulfillment is a matter for the party committee and the primary party organization. The control organ must assess how its recommendations are being realized and, where necessary, return to an examination of a particular question, making personal assessments of the work of Communists, including party workers.

It is important to develop the control and auditing commissions' cooperation with standing commissions of the CPSU gorkom and raykoms and to arrange businesslike contacts between them.

In short, there are more than enough problems requiring further elaboration and practical realization. And it is a very good thing that this urgent question of the forms and methods of the work of party control organs under modern conditions is being examined at today's plenum of the control and auditing commission.

The preparations for the 28th party congress are becoming the main area of the city party organization's work. We must approach it as the renewed party of Soviet society's political vanguard.

A plenum of the party's Central Committee will soon be held. Questions of interethnic relations will be discussed. Clearly, there is no need to mention the great significance of the upcoming Central Committee plenum for the country. It will discuss and adopt decisions literally on fateful questions which have recently assumed such an acute nature.

Not only party organs will have to be imbued with the sense of the party's nationalities policy at the contemporary stage. The task will arise of conveying to every Communist and to every Muscovite the essence of the decisions that will be adopted and at once tackling their fulfillment. Interethnic problems are extremely complex, and we must not be slow to resolve them. And in Moscow, as you know, they are manifested in full.

And, of course, comrades, given all the diversity of the affairs which control and auditing commissions are called upon to tackle at the contemporary stage, we—the gorkom, raykoms, and control and auditing commissions—must on no account remain aloof from the current, everyday tasks of improving the life of Muscovites.

These are problems of supplies, of preparations for work under winter conditions, of laying vegetables and potatoes in store, of fulfilling the housing and ecological programs, and much besides.

In short, all the city's sore points must be under our constant control.

The ruling party cannot evade resolving urgent problems of the people's life, nor will it ever do so. All this is assuming special significance on the eve of the local soviet elections. Our position and our work will determine what the outcome will be, what the voters' choice will be.

'Serious Renewal' of Party Organs Urged

PM0908131989 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by V. Matveyev, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences, under the rubric "Plain Talk: The Party Today. What Should It Be Like?": "Negative Selection. Thoughts 'at a Juncture' by Someone Who Worked 30 Years in the Party Apparatus"]

[Text] You frequently hear it said that the crisis phenomena in the party and in society are directly linked with democratization and with the changes that constitute the essence of today. Previously, during the stagnation years, it is said, everything was calm and everyone was content. I cannot agree with this viewpoint, for I remember how that outward calm was produced. Here is an eloquent example. After L.I. Brezhnev was presented with his fifth hero's star, the telephone rang in the party city committee [gorkom] (I was working there as a sector head). It was the chief of the communications department calling to say that he had telegrams to the CPSU Central Committee from people indignant at the award, and to ask whether or not he should forward them to the addressee. I replied: Forward them. But then, some time later, I learned that the telegrams nonetheless had not been forwarded. Despite the backing from the gorkom, the communications chief had still decided not to risk it. Yes, precisely not to risk it, because it represented a grave risk for him to forward such telegrams. No, of course he would not have been arrested, but he might simply have said goodbye to his job. So there was not universal contentment then. On the contrary, it was carefully staged at great effort.

Yes, people's indignation at the situation in society was no less then, but this does not make our situation today any easier. So let us speak directly about it.

A special feature of the present period is the fact that we find ourselves at a dangerous juncture. Public opinion and ideological pluralism appear in a qualitatively new guise against the background of the ongoing democratization of political life and glasnost. That is, some people are thinking of the reasons for what has happened, of ways to overcome the malfunctions that have arisen in society, and, to this end, of consolidating the forces which advocate the renewal of socialism; others are indulging in speculations of a political and ideological nature, having armed themselves with actual facts from the past, and are using them to deny the creative, transforming potential of the CPSU, the advantages of the socialist system, and the opportunities for nations' development within the framework of the USSR.

In this situation it is important to investigate objectively the main causes of the crisis without dramatizing the state of affairs or oversimplifying it. It seems to me that the fact that we have lost control of the development processes—which is expressed in various deformations and deviations encountered today in practically all spheres of life—should be considered the decisive cause of the situation which has taken shape. For it is precisely efficiency of management and leadership that acts as the catalyst of perestroyka processes.

For a long time the quest for the causes of our failures and defeats was supplanted by analysis of their consequences. Until the seventies the dynamic growth of national income and the quite high pace of development still made it possible to shift the emphasis of criticism onto the lower levels, onto the executors. But the situation changed radically by the mid-eighties. The economy was literally collapsing against a background of more and more new initiatives and reports in the country. The development mechanism had lost its efficiency, and it no longer seemed possible to shift responsibility for this onto those same "little executors."

The party, as the leading and directing force of society, found itself under a powerful magnifying glass. Its special position as the political nucleus and its responsibility for maintaining socioeconomic transformations raised the question of the connection between the crisis phenomena in society and the crisis phenomena in the party—above all, in its leading components, which generate conceptual views of the future.

It is impossible to extricate society from its stagnant state without accomplishing radical, substantial changes, above all, in the political engine of social renewal—in the system of party leadership, a constituent part of our society's political system.

What is hindering the party's renewal, and what should be considered the chief obstacle on this path? In the first place, I believe, the conservatism and imperfection of the basic normative regulator of internal party life—the CPSU statutes. For even if you were to study them most scrupulously, you would not find there a single line enshrining the supremacy of the constitution and the law. Nor is there any hint there that society has the right to monitor all political structures. It was precisely as a result of this unidirectional imperfection of the statutes, with the help of hundreds of invented instructions, resolutions, and recommendations, that the specific mechanism for commanding the party and all of society was formed and that the party and state apparatus merged. The consequence was the emergence of level-linked [urovnevyye] democracy, glasnost, accountability, and responsibility controlled and directed by apparatus structures.

That is, in a society where "all are equal" there emerged people and entire social groups who proved "more equal" than others. The mechanism for drawing up and adopting state decisions got out of both the people's control and the control of ordinary Communists. Secrecy prevailed in the selection and placement of cadres, and strict rationing of significant information for the party and the people appeared. Party initiative was elevated to the rank of all-people policy. The obligatory ritual of formal approval for any significant decision in the sphere of management or spiritual life shaped kinds of "standards" of thinking. This significantly narrowed the spheres of real all-party and all-people initiative. The creativity of party forums at various levels did not go beyond editorial amendments to decisions prepared earlier by the apparatus. Socioeconomic relations were subjected to profound deformations. Apparatus structures became littered with people selected on the basis of compliance with the demands of the bureaucratic system. The required attributes were personal devotion, family ties, and territorial ties. That is, **"negative selection" prevailed, to use Fazil Iskander's figurative expression**. It was selection in which it frequently was not the strongest and most capable who survived but, on the contrary, the most incompetent person, but someone ready for anything. The substance of party work proper was also emasculated. Party debates were supplanted by the surrogates of "pseudocriticism" and "self-criticism." The lack of ideas and constructive thoughts in speeches was compensated for by compliments, analogies, and rituals of unanimity, approval, and support.

Naturally, such selection fully manifested such qualities as ambition, subjectivism, and voluntarism in the people leading society.

Under the impact of the said circumstances the processes of the people's alienation from the party, the party's alienation from its leading structures, and the leading structures' alienation from their highest components were strengthened. That is, the organization lost its substantive goal, to use Marx' words.

On the other hand, the fact that creative and thinking forces in all periods of our history tried at all levels to oppose the party-bureaucratic system determined the emergence of the phenomenon of March 1985. **And it is impossible to agree with attempts to portray the new phenomena in the country's life as results not predicted by the party and its leadership in 1985 and as evidence of a deepening crisis rather than emergence from it.** A different political atmosphere has taken shape in the country, consciously expected and prepared by the party, along with a different structure of the flow of renewing ideas stemming from informal associations and public organizations and nurtured by the creative potential of non-party people and, finally, by the party itself in a new capacity. Today the party and its leadership derive a great deal from the people's masses. The experience of the elections of USSR people's deputies and the work of their first congress, which acted as a kind of tuning fork for the country's new political existence, are instructive in this respect. This experience graphically shows in which area it is also necessary to improve the work of the party and its elected organs. Which qualitatively new procedures must be mastered to advance perestroyka in the party itself? **The proposals advanced by many Communists to convene an extraordinary party congress should be viewed from precisely these positions.** The reasons behind these demands are clear and logical: the imperfection of the CPSU statutes; the possibility of using them to curb and hinder the perestroyka processes; the very acute need for the cardinal development of internal party democracy and the delegating of a number of powers (and, accordingly, responsibility) to the soviets, the government, and other party levels; the need for a serious (more serious than at the CPSU Central Committee October Plenum) renewal of the composition of top-echelon elected party organs and its strengthening with authoritative Communists who enjoy the confidence of the masses.

In preparing for an extraordinary congress, account must be taken of the experience gained during the recent election campaign, when the composition of the congress delegates inevitably determined the serious, radical, and considered nature of its decisions. **And I believe that these must definitely be direct elections, that is, subject as little as possible to the influence of the antiperestroyka section of the apparatus.** The election system that existed hitherto was totally subject to such influence (I say this responsibly as someone who worked for 13 years on the apparatus at very different levels). Technically, the holding of direct elections will undoubtedly be a far more complex matter, but this is precisely the very case where the end totally justifies the means. This end is the party's future efficiency, its vital strength, its deserved prestige in society, and the right to determine the strategy of society's political development.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets 9 Aug

LD0908165389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug (TASS)—The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium met here today under its chairman Vitaliy Vorotnikov. The draft RSFSR law on changes and additions to the constitution (fundamental law) of the Russian Federation and the draft RSFSR laws on elections of people's deputies of the republic and on elections of people's deputies of the local soviets of Russia were examined.

The presidium formed a provisional committee for the fight against crime and a commission on matters of national policy and interethnic relations in the Russian Federation.

Party First Secretary Elected in Vladimir Oblast

LD0908161489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Today [9 August] a plenum of the party's oblast committee was held in Vladimir. Comrade Bobovikov was released from his duties as first secretary of the CPSU oblast committee at his personal request in connection with his retirement on pension. Comrade Kondryukov was elected first secretary of the Vladimir Oblast party committee. He previously worked as the chairman of the executive committee of the Vladimir Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

New Komi Oblast Party First Secretary Elected

LD1008104989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Organizational matters were considered by a Komi Oblast Party Committee [Obkom] plenum. Comrade Vladimir Ivanovich Melnikov was released from his duties as first secretary of the CPSU Obkom in connection with his appointment as USSR minister of the timber industry. As our correspondent in Syktyvkar, Yevgeniy Zubarev, reports, elections for an autonomous republic party leader were held on an alternative basis. However this innovation is presently having great difficulty taking root here. On the eve of the plenum, and indeed during it, a number of staffers of the party apparatus advocated elections from a single candidacy, reasoning that the person who lost in alternative elections would feel uncomfortable and not go anywhere. Evidently, for this reason, many of the candidates for the post of the first secretary withdrew. Nevertheless, thanks to the active and uncompromising position of a number of primary city and rayon party organizations of the republic, the list for secret voting included obkom Second Secretary Yuriy Alekseyevich Spiridonov, and obkom Secretary Vinyamin Savatevich Osipov.

The majority of those taking part in the plenum—two thirds—voted for Spiridonov. The new obkom first secretary is 50 years old and for half of them has lived and worked in the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

He started as a mining foreman and then headed the oil well administration in Ukhta, and the city party organization in Usinsk. He graduated from the Sverdlovsk mining institute and the higher party school attached to the CPSU Central Committee and became a candidate of technical sciences. Spiridonov attracts people because of his competence and active and vital position. At the same time, as noted by those taking part in the plenum, Yuriy Alekseyevich has in his character an impulsiveness, excessive sharpness, and at times even coarseness. He must overcome these qualities.

'People of the North' To Hold First Congress

PM0908162589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Yuriy Perepletkin report under the rubric "Direct Line": "Congress of the People of the North"]

[Text] Yuriy Perepletkin, our correspondent in Tyumenia, reports that the first Congress of the People of the North will be held in Khanty-Mansiysk 10 August.

This decision was made by an action group whose members are profoundly disturbed by the exacerbation of economic, social, and ecological problems in ancient Yugry, which is the former name of the territory of the Khanty-Mansiyskiy Autonomous Okrug (the group is officially registered with the okrug soviet executive committee).

It is expected that the congress will discuss the questions of regional economic accountability, the genuine autonomy of the Khant and Mansi peoples, and countering departments which poison the water and air and destroy the tayga and tundra. It is intended that the congress will set up some body which with the passage of time will be transformed into a "Soviet of Nationalities" (?or chamber), a local okrug organ of self-management.

Arrival of Russians in South Kuriles Celebrated

PM2407112189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Report by V. Velkhovetskiy, secretary of the Yuzhno-Kurilskiy Rayon Party Committee: "Far-Flung Point: Celebrations on the South Kuriles"]

[Text] A few days ago inhabitants of our country's farthest region marked the 250th anniversary of the voyage to the South Kuriles by Russian explorers headed by M. Shpanberg.

Celebrations marking the jubilee took place in Yuzhno-Kurilsk, regional center of Sakhalin Oblast. The festivities began with an improvised show. Its protagonist depicted Shpanberg, accompanied by sailors in Russian naval uniform, disembarking from his sloop onto the island of Kunashir, where Yuzhno-Kurilsk is situated. He is met by the Ainu, the natives of the island. A rally of many thousands of people was then held on the colorfully decorated square, where a "seafarer" read out Peter the Great's Decree on Exploration of the Islands Adjoining Asia. The unveiling of a monument to the discoverers of the South Kuriles—three large rocks surmounted by an anchor standing in the center of the square—was one of the highlights of the festivities.

Concerts by amateur artistic groups of the rayon, sports events, performances by artists from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, and exhibitions of folk art, flowers, and photographs were held on the same day. There was also a torchlight procession, a festive fireworks display, and a mass outdoor gathering involving the young people and inhabitants of Yuzhno-Kurilsk.

Celebrations were also held in other population centers of the rayon. Correspondents of newspapers and magazines from Japan, the United States, Britain, the neighboring island of Iturul, and Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk were invited to the village of Malokurislkoye on the island of Shikotan for the 250th anniversary festival marking the Russian explorers' voyage. The local inhabitants proposed that such celebrations become an annual event.

People's Front Offered Latvian Government Posts

LD2207174589 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] In the Baltic states the civil rights movements in the People's Front continue to play an increasingly important role. Last week came the news that the leader of the Estonian People's Front will have a place in the union republic's government. And our correspondent, Thomas Nordegren, now reports on a corresponding nomination in Latvia.

[Nordegren] Dainis Ivans, president of the Latvian People's Front, disclosed today that his organization has been offered two places in the Latvian Government. Moscow has already agreed, and the official appointments will be made shortly. The young, extremely popular Ivans will probably be appointed deputy premier. But is there not a risk that you will only be a hostage in the government, I asked Ivans today? Yes, but we must take the risk; we cannot, as in Poland, wait for 10 years until the government has totally collapsed. We must accept our responsibility now, says Dainis Ivans.

At our meeting he stressed that the People's Front firmly adheres to the demands for a totally independent Latvia. The first step will be taken on 1 January, 1990, when the Latvian economy will be controlled from Riga and not from Moscow. [word indistinct] is a reorganized Soviet Union, a federation of independent republics. The military links with Moscow are likely to stay for a long time, Ivans believes.

The leader of the People's Front, like his counterpart in Estonia who last week was appointed deputy premier, will have a difficult task. I think that within 1 year we must show specific results—more food and consumer goods in the shops and market economy. Sweden can play a key role; we would need to send the new free farmers to Sweden for training and practical experience, and we would also want to have a Swedish language institute, a Swedish agricultural school, and school of economics in Riga. Dainis Ivans is playing for high stakes; if the People's Front fails in the government, then the strong militant leftist wing, which wants to contend with Moscow without compromises, will take over. It is Gorbachev himself who has decided to include the Baltic People's Front leaders in government posts in the union republics. Both sides want to avoid a situation in which the national antagonisms end in a bloodbath, and Gorbachev needs to be able to show examples that not only openness, but also restructuring, can function.

Tbilisi Commission Chairman Interviewed

PM2007153989 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 Jul 89 p 3

[Account of interview with Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies commission investigating the 9 April events in Tbilisi, by unidentified GRUZINFORM correspondent: "Commission Will Continue Its Work in Moscow"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is ZARYA VOSTOKA introduction]

[Text] The commission set up by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to investigate the circumstances surrounding the events of 9 April 1989 was in Tbilisi 18 through 30 June. This is what Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the commission, head of a Leningrad State University Law Department chair, said in an interview to a GRUZINFORM correspondent:

So far only a preliminary statement on the work of our commission can be made. We have familiarized ourselves on the spot with the situation which led up to the events and the circumstances which resulted in the decision by the republic party and state organs and the command of the Transcaucasus Military District to carry out the operation to end the unauthorized rally and clear the demonstrators from the square in front of Government House. Both the course of the operation itself and its consequences, and the situation which has taken shape in the republic since the 9 April events, have been analyzed in detail.

Members of the commission acquainted themselves with the documents submitted by the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and USSR Supreme Soviet commissions for the investigation of the tragic events and also by the Transcaucasus Military District command, the USSR Ministry of Defense, the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, the Georgian SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and KGB, and various state and social organizations and individual citizens. We heard statements from members and candidate members of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, and other senior republic officials, command staff of the Transcaucasus Military District and the units which took part in the 9 April operation, and representatives of the USSR Main Military Prosecutor's Office and the republic Prosecutor's Office. The testimony of eyewitnesses—militia officials, officers and men of the Internal Forces and the Soviet Army, Georgian SSR Ministry of Health officials and first aid workers, people who served in Afghanistan, clergymen, representatives of the public, and individual citizens (eyewitnesses and victims), and those receiving treatment in medical establishments. Members of the commission met with Catholicos Iliya II, patriarch of all Georgia.

In short, the commission has performed a great amount of painstaking work which will be continued in Moscow, where we will investigate the involvement of officials in the center in connection with the Tbilisi events. The final conclusions will be drawn only when all this work has been completed.

The members of our commission express sincere sympathy to all those who have suffered as a result of the events. They are deeply grieved by the irreplaceable losses which have been inflicted on the Georgian people and express their condolences to the near and dear ones of those who were killed.

We declare our determination to do everything we can to ensure that such a tragedy can never again be repeated and to see to it that all those to blame are punished.

Georgian Citizens Urged 'To Behave Calmly'

LD0908165289 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 21 Jul 89, p 3

[Unattributed article: "To Prevent Incidents"]

[Text] In the past few days the situation in the republic has sharpy exacerbated in connection with the disturbances related to the conflict between nationalities. Cases of attacking sentries to get their weapons have taken place. There were incidents connected with the attacks at rayon military commissariats and attempts to penetrate into the territory of military units and subunits in Abkhaziya.

The military command of the district appeals to all the citizens of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic not to undertake any action which can be perceived by sentries as attacks against them or as efforts to penetrate into the territory they are guarding because these actions could have fatal consequences. Commanders of military units have adopted a set of urgent measures of enhanced guarding at military sites and higher vigilance by sentries. The rules impose upon a sentry the duty of opening fire without warning in cases of clear attack against him or the site he is guarding.

No one can foresee every eventuality in real life. Without knowing it some citizens can find themselves near a military site and in sentry's field of view. In this case only an unquestionable fulfillment of his orders can prevent a tragedy. Remember, if an intruder does not stop and tries to penetrate into the site guarded (or the sentry's station) or if he is running away after such an attempt, the sentry will shoot once into the air. If the intruder does not follow the sentry's demands this time, the sentry will use weapon against him. That is the law which is unambiguously followed by sentries. We remind citizens that there are signs directing movement of people near military sites and ask them to observe the signs. We earnestly request citizens of the republic to behave calmly, with tact and restraint when dealing with servicemen who are fulfilling their guard and defense duties and who are resolutely rebuffing any actions which can cost human lives and result in new wave of tension between the Army and the population of the republic.
[Signed] Political Directorate of the Transcaucasus Military District

Armenian Restoration Progress Examined

PM0308090589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "In USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A conference was held 1 August at the USSR Council of Ministers which comprehensively examined the progress in restoration work in the regions of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] which suffered from the earthquake.

In recent months there has been a substantial increase in the capacities of the construction organizations enlisted from other regions of the country. A considerable number of specialists and workers and a considerable quantity of construction equipment and transport facilities are concentrated in the earthquake zone. All this has made it possible to accelerate the pace of work. The construction workers' main efforts now are concentrated on erecting apartment blocks, schools, and other establishments of the sociocultural sphere.

At the same time, the conference noted, there have still been no fundamental advances in resolving this important economic and political task. Some USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers are blatantly underestimating the priority importance of commissioning schools by 1 September and apartment blocks before the advent of winter. Stoppages have not been eliminated in the activity of enterprises taking part in restoration work and the rhythmical work of the construction process has not been set up in the earthquake regions. As a result the commissioning of fixed capital for the first half of the year was only 7 percent of the year's pledges by enterprises and organizations.

The conference sharply criticized the construction organizations of the Uzbek SSR, Kazakh SSR, Lithuanian SSR, and Tajik SSR. It was also noted that subdivisions of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of Water Resources Construction [Minvodstroy], the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Enterprises, and the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum and Gas Industry are implementing the installation of engineering services—a water pipeline, gas pipeline, sewerage, and power and heat supplies—extremely unsatisfactorily. This is casting doubt on the prompt commissioning of apartment blocks, schools, and preschool institutions.

The union republic councils of ministers and the ministries and departments have been asked to investigate immediately the state of affairs for each construction site to be completed in 1989 and to achieve the unconditional fulfillment of the set targets for commissioning projects. The attention of leaders of all ranks has been drawn to their personal responsibility.

The conference was chaired by L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Taking part in its work were S.G. Arutyunyan, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; and V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergency Situations.

Armenian Renaissance Council Discusses Objectives

NC2207153489 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 20 Jul 89

[Mavr Danielyan report on meeting held at the Armenian journalists' house]

[Excerpts] The renaisance of Armenia is the supreme objective. This is the motto under which the Renaissance [veratsenund] Council wants to begin dialogue with the republic's leadership, people, nonofficial public organizations, and with the domestic and foreign diaspora.

During the meeting views were freely exchanged outlining the essence of the renaissance they proposed. This renaissance means not only eliminating the consequences of the earthquake's destruction but also overcoming the republic's economic and social backwardness, removing the hurdles of the bureacratic apparatus created and consolidated during the personality cult and stagnation period, instilling democratic principles in all the spheres of life, securing the productive functioning of all national economic sectors, and transforming Armenia into a modern advanced republic by using the possibilities provided by the restructuring and by unifying all the Armenian forces of all strata and political convictions.

These objectives, the speakers stressed, could only be achieved through mustering all forces.

The Renaissance Council's working meeting discussed many problems. Yusif Balyan, lecturer at the polytechnic institute and expert on construction to withstand earthquakes, devoted his speech to the restoration work in the earthquake areas. In particular he criticized the restoration work in Leninakan. He pointed out that the reconstruction is expanding in areas that are not stable seismologically. The characteristics of the earth's interior have not been properly studied. The experts and builders are being hasty and have pulled down those few intact buildings which should have been preserved and reinforced. Balyan's speech did not convince the participants, who demanded indisputable facts.

Grigor Avakyan, lecturer at Yerevan's national economic institute, also devoted his speech to the restoration work in Leninakan. [passage omitted]

Seta Retmisheva, writer and economist, touched on many issues in her speech. After it, the meeting participants formulated several suggestions to be published in the press. It was indicated that in line with the constitution, Armenia should have representatives in those countries with Armenian refugee communities. Though this issue was debated at the Armenian Supreme Soviet session, no concrete measures have been taken so far. In order to try to solve the complex problems facing the Armenian people, the Renaissance Council needs funds. A declaration was issued for its formation. Let us listen to a part of it.

[Begin recording] Today, our fatherland is in need of a renaissance to which the entire Armenian people must contribute. We, the members of the Renaissance Popular Council, call on our brothers in the domestic foreign diaspora to enroll in our movement and extent moral and material assistance. [word indistinct] Our aspirations and aim: We propose to create renaissance popular council organizations in all the localities inhabited by Armenians and to maintain their contact with our working council for cooperation purposes. [end recording]

The meeting was chaired by Sarkis Muradyan, USSR people's deputy and people's painter.

Museum Honoring Armenian Fighters Planned

NC0408210289 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 2 Aug (ARMENPRES)—The selfless struggle of the Armenian fedayeen is the brightest page in our people's national struggle movement. Thousands of known and anonymous heroes sacrificed their lives for the sacred objective of protecting our land and people against Turkish despotism. [passage omitted] A fedayeen museum has to be built in Armenia. [passage omitted] Under these improving conditions in our lives it is now possible to fulfill the people's desire for this. The Armenian Cultural Fund decided back in May to complete the half-finished museum building in Ashnak Village and thus create a permanently functioning Armenian fedayeen museum. [passage omitted]. The museum could be ready to open in May 1990, on the traditional day of the fedayeen. [passage omitted] We call on our diaspora compatriots—who, we are sure, will welcome the idea of a fedayeen museum—to donate items belonging or related to the fedayeen. We are sure that no matter how hard it is for our compatriots to detach themselves from priceless relics, they will donate all such items to the museum. They will thus make the items the property of the entire Armenian nation.

Dear compatriots, the fedayeen museum could be realized only through pan-national effort, and we have absolute hope that our letter will echo in your hearts and conscience. [passage omitted]
[Signed] Armenian Cultural Fund.

Uzbek Party Calls for Fergana Economic Measures

LD0408141589 Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian 0030 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] More rapid restoration of damage, providing jobs, and raising the people's living standard were the questions examined on 13 July at a session of the commission of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers on the events in Fergana Oblast. It was chaired by Kadyrov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

It was noted that the Fergana Oblast Executive Committee and local soviet and economic organs are so far unsatisfactorily organizing the work of repairing and restoring housing and other installations destroyed as a result of the illegal actions. It was recommended that all the restoration work envisaged by the decisions of the republic's government be carried out in 1 month.

The commission instructed republican economic and oblast organs to step up work on further economic and social development and on providing employment for all able-bodied people, including those that were not previously employed, and to increase labor resources in the oblasts in the Fergana valley.

Uzbekistan To Set Up Culture Center in Moscow

LD2407062789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] The Uzbekistan Council of Ministers has adopted a decision to set up an Uzbek culture, information, and trade center in Moscow. The deepening of interethnic relations is its main goal. There, the capital's guests and residents will familiarize themselves with the Uzbek people's traditions, its culture and art, original folk and professional creativity, and the dynamics of the development of the Republic's economy, science, and technology. The Moscow City Executive Committee has already allocated buildings for the center on Bolshaya Polyanka Street. They will be refurbished. Uzbekistan's interested ministries and creative unions have already developed a program for the centre's activity for this and following years.

Turkmenian Anti-Drug 'Crackdown' Outlined

LD2407130689 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Ashkhabad July 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yelena Prikhodko:

The Soviet militia in the central Asian republic of Turkmenia, sadly registering the highest rate of drug addiction in the country, have destroyed 270,000 bushes of opium poppy and Indian hemp this year in a continued crackdown on drugs.

The figures were reported by Kiyas Tachmamedov, Turkmenia's first deputy interior minister, at a news briefing today on the results of a special operation against illegal poppy and hemp plantations.

The third yearly sweep of this kind, it revealed 111 such secret sites, which is a little fewer than in 1988, he said.

Most of the crime rate increase in Turkmenia during the past six months is blamed on drug users and stopping narcotic supplies is an urgent necessity, Tachmamedov stressed.

He said the operation was launched on April 17, or a month earlier than usual, because drug growers, seeking to cut losses to the minimum and confuse the militia, had done their sowing very early.

A special anti-drug department set up at the Turkmenian Interior Ministry to coordinate efforts against narcotic trafficking with colleagues in other Soviet constituent republics in 1989 has helped to plug many channels used by drug dealers.

The pooling of the militia's efforts also made it possible to discover a vast plantation in Uzbekistan's fertile Khorezm region, where the drug mafia have already began to gather their harvest.

All in all, 80 kilograms and 413 grams of drug-containing substances were confiscated in the zone this year.

Tachmamedov was pleased that increased attention paid to the problem of drug addiction and closer cooperation between the militia and the medical service have finally led to progress in the anti-drug drive.

Smolentsev Discusses Role of Supreme Court

LD0908161789 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—"The 'Law on Judges' status in the USSR', which was passed by the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, sets as its foremost task to raise the prestige of the court to the level which is assigned to it by the constitution," said Yevgeniy Smolentsev, chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

"It is necessary that the court be a truly last instance which passes judgement on whether a person is guilty or not. None other, either preliminary investigation bodies, public prosecutor, or mass media would have the right to name a person a criminal until a sentence is passed," Smolentsev said.

The elaboration of the law coincided with the activities of the world public to mark the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was ratified by our state. It put forward and defends the thesis that each man has the right that his case be examined openly and all demands of justice be observed by an independent and impartial court. We seek to create exactly such a court.

Smolentsev clarified that courts' independence is ensured by the procedure of electing judges and people's assessors, established by the law, strict juridical procedure of the administration of justice, the privacy of conference in making judgments and a ban to demand its divulgence, and by holding persons accountable for contempt of court or interference in the examination of specific cases.

Smolentsev drew particular attention to the fact that judges' independence should also be guaranteed by "judges' material and social security corresponding to their high status." The provision on the procedure for electing judges and relieving them of their office, which is defined by the law, is also an important guarantee of court independence. A responsibility to the point of filing criminal charges will be stipulated for interference in the judicial activity.

The adopted law can be described as the groundwork of legislation, Smolentsev said. Many of its provisions will be further developed in an all-union legislation and in republican laws on the organisation of courts.

New Trade Union To Protect Cooperative Workers

LD0408125589 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—Protecting the interests of cooperatives is the main task of a new Soviet trade union.

Vladimir Ivanov, head of the Organisational Department of the Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), told TASS that the new union would provide social and legal protection for two million people, registered in 180,000 cooperative businesses. Previous experience indicates that the boards of cooperatives often permit violations of labour legislation to the detriment of the interests of rank-and-file workers. The new trade union will monitor working conditions and enforce accident prevention rules, as is already done at state-owned enterprises.

While the USSR Union of Cooperatives is designed to protect the cooperative movement as such, the future trade union aims specifically to protect workers employed by cooperatives. This, however, does not rule out its participation in the discussion of urgent problems of the development of cooperatives, Ivanov said.

"The amount and nature of social benefits, brought by membership of the new trade union, will be defined by cooperators at the forthcoming founding congress. One thing is clear: They will enjoy the same benefits as members of trade unions at state-owned enterprises. This involves both the payment of temporary disability allowances and provision of accomodation at sanatoriums and rest homes—in other words, everything that trade unions spend from social insurance funds for the benefit of workers."

Trade unions of cooperative workers will now be founded in every union republic.

Health Ministry Views Measures Against AIDS

PM0908134989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[L. Nikolayeva report: "AIDS Again"]

[Text] Yesterday questions of preventing AIDS in this country were again discussed at a session of the USSR Ministry of Health Collegium. M. Narkevich, chief of a main administration, reported that so far 11 cases of the disease and 289 cases of infection by the virus have been registered. In 1989 R47 million was spent on combating the fearful disease.

It was noted at the session that the 600 laboratories operating in the country have made it possible to screen almost 33 million people. Since the beginning of this year compulsory screening has been introduced for all pregnant women.

Unfortunately many questions concerning material and technical supply to the laboratories and also the production of means of preventing HIV infection have not yet been solved. Last year the USSR Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems failed to meet the targets for the production of diagnostic instruments. It is their fault that the situation with regard to the supply of disposable syringes to medical institutions remains grave.

You would think that in such a situation the country's medical centers should ensure the strictest monitoring of compliance with all sanitary norms. However, as USSR Ministry of Health inspections show, these norms are often seriously violated. Thus in Khabarovsk Kray an inspection of 110 medical centers led to 30 percent of their directors being punished.

At the collegium session the need to improve legal norms relating to the struggle against the spread of the human immunodeficiency virus was discussed. Draft legislative acts aimed at protecting the population from the threat of the spread of the virus and also protecting the rights of AIDS sufferers were recently drawn up. It is proposed to make breaches of medical confidentiality a criminal offense and to enshrine the right of infected persons to jobs and social assistance.

Professor Emphasizes Need for Party Reforms

PM0908113089 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by Professor R. Kosolapov under the rubric "Frank Talking: The Party Today. How Should It Be?": "Where the Ship Is Bound, or Why We Need a Democratic Hot 'Bath'"]

[Text] It is no secret that the party is in a state of crisis. The rats have already deserted the party ship, and a good deal of courage is required to stand firm and not lower the flag. It would at least be bizarre to think that the only way out of the crisis is suicide. It is well understood that not all those who are formally CPSU members are Communists, and there is no occasion to lament the departure of those who are fellow travelers by chance or for selfish reasons. But are there sound forces in the party capable of bringing about its Renaissance?

I am putting it like that because a certain pragmatic type is already becoming identifiable in society who has never had any faith in socialism or communism, and is now taking a close look at the CPSU's formal structures and organizational and economic potential with a view to adapting them to his own current needs. Voices can be clearly heard today asserting in a reasonable tone that the party is lagging behind society when it comes to democratization, that it must be substantially changed. But in what way? That is what I wish to discuss in my comments.

The implementation of the "changes in our political system" proposed by Lenin would be the right step from every point of view. This means, first of all, increasing the working-class sector of the CPSU Central Committee to a minimum of one-third of its numbers. The following observation by Lenin is by no means out of date, especially if you bear in mind the overgrown bureaucracy: "As I conceive it, a few dozen workers, belonging to the Central Committee, would be better equipped than anyone else to check, improve, and recreate our apparatus." At least one-third of Central Committee members not of high rank should also be elected, in my view, to an enlarged Politburo.

Here it is necessary to avoid at all costs a narrow interpretation of the word "worker" ["rabochiy"] or its use to contrast the working class and the intelligentsia. Lenin himself did not, for instance, make a significant social distinction between people working in productive physical labor and intellectual labor, and used to speak of the "engineering proletariat." We too should keep up with this approach.

In the context of the revival—inevitable at the present time and in fact now in progress—of certain NEP [new economic policy] forms of economic activity and the multisector economy, and of the redistribution of income in favor of people employed in the nonstate sphere of production, the view is being widely put forward that we abandoned the slogan of the dictatorship of the working class too soon and it should be revived. The CPSU, as a party of the whole people which remains, at the same time, a working class party, cannot disregard such feelings. Orientation toward and reliance on primarily "elite" strata, and even then only in the capital, along with disregard for and suppression and even discrediting of the workers, is not only contrary to Marxist-Leninist principles, but is dangerous to the entire future of perestroyka.

In my view manifestations of spontaneous petit bourgeois forces, which sometimes make no secret of their money-grubbing, exploitative tendencies, should be opposed by a force that is inadequately described by the accepted phrase "democracy of the whole people." This force should be a hegemony of united physical and mental labor, and its consolidation could begin with the aforementioned changes to the composition of the Central Committee.

I associate the further debureaucratization of the Central Committee with the exclusion from its ranks of people who hold high office: ministers, the chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, certain leadership workers on the party apparatus, and so forth. This would strengthen the principle of accountability of every official, as a communist, to every party organ, from the primary organization upward.

The gulf between the "upper echelons" and the "grass roots" in the party and the excessive concentration of power in the hands of the appointed apparatus are largely explained by the multitiered nature of elections of leadership organs, which has existed since the days of the prerevolutionary underground. In the light of the experience of elections to the soviets by means of direct, equal, and secret voting for candidate deputies at all levels, this practice appears obsolete. The Central Committee and lower party committees could and should be elected on a contested basis directly by all the communists in the party organizations.

The need for strict compliance with the socialist rule of law and the prevention of recurrences of the personality cult calls for the revival of the control organs that were abolished under Stalin, first and foremost the Central Control Commission, to which Lenin attached enormous importance. The Central Control Commission should be elected by the congress (or a conference of the whole party) and work hand in hand with the Central Committee, with the right to intervene in the affairs of all central and local party organs. Under certain conditions the Central Control Commission could (especially if major disagreements arose within the Central Committee) act as a kind of political equalizer or arbiter to prevent a split in the party.

At present there is no institution in the CPSU responsible for verifying from time to time that the activity of its central organs and their leaders comply with the requirements of the Statutes. It is no secret that for some people direct access to Brezhnev and a long-standing personal friendship with him was a kind of shield for such monstrous phenomena as Rashidovism, Kunayevism, Shchelokovism, and so forth. This, incidentally, was what prevented the Central Auditing Commission (I have this on good authority) from studying with due exactingness, for instance, the work of the Central Committee Administration of Affairs, which in recent times stood above the entire Central Committee apparatus, so to speak. A revived Central Control Commission would be such an institution, monitoring the activity of all high-ranking party members. I believe that misgivings to the effect that it would put itself above the Central Committee or create a situation of dual power in the party are dictated by authoritarian and cultist feelings. It would be able to extirpate tyranny by bureaucrats or by groupings forming unprincipled alliances. The Central Control Commission's rights and duties and the limits of its competence would be clearly defined by the congress. And if disagreements or misunderstandings arose, they could be discussed and settled at a joint plenum. It would also be a good idea to make the following rule: In the event that disagreements between the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission cannot be overcome by conventional means, it is obligatory to convene a conference of the whole party.

In the party's grass roots, the practice of holding the post of CPSU Central Committee general secretary for life is resolutely condemned. The 19th party conference also confirmed this. After all, real leadership in the party is by no means necessarily associated with that post. That is how Lenin understood it. The functions of the general secretary, in his view, amounted to coordinating collaboration among the Politburo, the Organizational Bureau, and the Central Committee apparatus. Lenin himself was always only a Central Committee member, and exercised his "informal" influence thanks to his intellect, erudition, experience, and moral irreproachability.

In my view tenure of the post of general secretary should be limited to only one term between congresses, with a compulsory mid-term report at a conference of the whole party. The same individual (in cases of extreme need) could be reelected as general secretary on the recommendation of the conference of the whole party following the congress at which he laid down his powers.

The possibility of doing away with the post of general secretary entirely should also be considered. It is well known that the post was not reestablished from the 1930's onward. (At the 17th, 18th, and 19th party congresses Stalin was elected secretary of the Central Committee. The post of first secretary was then established for Khrushchev, and the post of general secretary was revived for Brezhnev.) In this case sessions of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat could be chaired in turn (perhaps with a specified term for fulfilling this function) by the members of these collegial organs. That would remove the taint of authoritarianism from the Central Committee' decisions and help to increase its real authority as a leadership collective.

Another Leninist principle is also far from obsolete, namely the free discussion of a question prior to the adoption of a collective decision and the strict fulfillment of the majority decision by everyone, including those who are not personally in agreement. Which does not, of course, exclude criticism of the decision. I am talking about democratic centralism in a form cleansed of later accretions.

There is no need to demonstrate what enormous authority was enjoyed by Lenin as head of the party and state. But for all the respect and even veneration felt for him by millions of people, it did not occur to anyone that you could not argue with him. In Lenin's lifetime criticism of any individual in the party was in the nature of things and did not lead to sanctions of any kind. Alas, subsequently such criticism became impossible for many years, which markedly lessened and even destroyed the democratic nature of communication within the party.

It is well known that the 10th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress condemned factionalism in a special resolution. But Lenin did not agree with those who tried to interpret this decision as a ban on putting forward different platforms. This approach contains enormous potential that should be utilized particularly now that the party, as far as its Marxist-Leninist basis are concerned, [illegible] exert a dominant influence on the ideological atmosphere. In any event, the existence of a number of platforms apart from that held by the apparatus would help to optimize the decisions adopted, and therefore the ways of advancing toward the common goal.

The fact that the people who take the decisions about state awards use that power to obtain titles and gold stars for themselves has always grated on many people in the party. This obsession with medals is far removed from the harmless pursuit of collectors. It is a concomitant of the process of formation of a cult, even in the absence of a personality on the grand scale. A multiplicity of gold stars (there is rich experience of this) does not give a leader authority, it is more likely to undermine his authority. Therefore the most rational thing would be to advise leaders at the highest level to refrain entirely from accepting orders and medals, participating in competitions for important prizes, and so forth. Only in cases of extreme need—that is, the unviersal recognition of someone's particularly outstanding services, should the question of rewarding such comrades be submitted for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers.

There is much talk among the people about all kinds of hidden benefits and privileges enjoyed by the nomenklatura, and as a rule the scale of such benefits is exaggerated and indignation is expressed as to why they persist to this day. From observations of those who have been removed from high office, it appears that for many of them the worst blow was the loss of coupons for "dietary nutrition" and the departmental clinic. Here it is not a question of elderly, infirm people who need constant, solicitous medical care—their distress is understandable. But when healthy citizens of working age are seriously distressed at the loss of a semisubsidized shopping bag, this is repulsive.

Food rations, which were originally introduced for the party aktiv because of the food shortages of the civil war, are a gross anachronism. They isolate senior officials on the party and state apparatus from the great bulk of the population and their urgent needs, and cause considerable annoyance to the public. Closed distribution outlets are seen by the working people as a violation of the principle of distribution according to labor and as economic barriers between the administrators and the people.

A great many myths are fostered among working people by closed dacha settlements, hunting reserves, special fishing zones, and guarded mansions where, it is thought, the bosses can gratify their every whim—from oysters and saunas to pornographic movies. But there is another side to this, which merits keen critical attention. These "secret" establishments, the monitoring of which is, by virtue of their special purpose, virtually impossible, provide a very convenient refuge for smart, plausible operators who use their high-level monopoly to get rich quick.

Without by any means calling for excessively limited incomes and asceticism for party workers (many of them should have wage increases), I would like to point out that in the stagnation years there developed among them a stratum of people who long for bourgeois living standards and the establishment of mutually beneficial ties with those who are involved, one way or another, in the distribution of benefits, including dubious elements and not excluding foreigners. To purge the party apparatus of such people, who in essence connived at bribery and embezzlement and sank into consumerist moral turpitude, would greatly promote the cleaning up of the situation in the party and society and would have great educational significance.

Departmental medical institutions, restaurants, and stores could exist. But they should not be concealed from the population and turned into cornucopias of shortage goods. Here all forms of free, unlawful sops for a small stratum of privileged individuals must be abolished. Periodical and frank public information about the income of leaders in the top echelon of power would have an enormous moral and political impact. Their incomes, like all income under socialism, should only be earned, and therefore there is no need of secrecy.

Perestroyka is called upon to play the part of a democratic hot "bath" in which we can wash away the scabs of "leaderism" ("vozhdism") and "elitism" and arrive at a sober understanding that the holding of a higher post is only of functional significance. It does not provide justification for regarding yourself as a higher class of person, and it confers only one privilege—the privilege of doing more and better work. The system whereby senior Communist workers are maintained in the management apparatus like bourgeois intellectuals, by means of a "gravy train," is hopelessly obsolete and has nothing in common with socialist democratism. There are plenty of honest, selfless, educated, and qualified people in the party and country who are prepared to fulfill their party and civic duty without any such "incentives," which in any case are generally humiliating.

Economic Contradictions Cause Nationalist Conflict

LD0908172389 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—"The heightening of separatist and nationalist attitudes accompanied by outbreaks of hatred and violence destablises the political situation in the country and poses a threat to the nascent process of reforms" I. Pogosov, candidate of sciences (economy) writes today in "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" ("THE LITERARY GAZETTE"). "But if we give a closer attention to the conflicts taking place in some regions we shall notice that national aspects form only the 'upper layer', that such conflicts are usually caused by economic contradictions. What is needed now is a joint quest for the ways to coordinate economic interests of various regions of the country and of the peoples inhabiting them. Therefore in these conditions those who make public statements about economic interaction of republics should have tact, restraint and competence."

The article says that in conditions of the existence of a single economic complex, there is a need for redistribution of national income between republics to ensure a stable and balanced development of union republics. Territorial division of labour, specialization of republics and regions is a reality which cannot be overlooked. The thesis of the reliance on one's reserves, on cost-accounting and self-financing must rest on a firm normative basis ensuring conditions for socio-economic development according to incomes. At the same time it is impossible to avoid a substantiated redistribution of funds in favour of republics heavily investing in the interests of the whole union. This redistribution should also be based on economic norms.

"The specialization of republics and regions formed over many years by efforts of all peoples of the country", the article says in conclusion. "The division of labour that formed within the union, interrepublican economic ties should be profoundly studied and perfected, a number of deformations should be corrected. Making corrections requires appropriate technical and economic substantiations. This is not a simple process and it requires efforts of all republics. Separation, rupture of existing ties will invariably upset the territorial division of labour, the structure of production, economic ties, will lead to the abandonment of integrational processes and to a sharp lowering of the efficiency of production", the author writes in conclusion. [sentence as received]

Implications of Losses of Worktime Discussed

PM2107151989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[V. Brovkin report: "Stolen Millions"]

[Text] Millions and millions. Oh, there are enough in the latest press release from the USSR State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat] to take your breath away. Some 9,257,000 in construction, 3,863,000 in railroad transport, and 4,647,000 in motor transport. Even consumer services for the population can show a little over a million—1,075,000, to be exact. The question is: What are they? No, not rubles, tonnes, or kilometers. All these millions are losses of worktime in man-days, stolen from work. They could have become rubles in the shape of actual goods, tonne-kilometers of transported freight, or, in broad terms, an increase in our well-being, but they did not do so.

What are the faucets through which worktime leaks uselessly away? Can they be closed? Everything has been calculated. There is relatively little absenteeism in railroad transport—it constitutes just 8.4 percent of all the losses—but on the other hand, idle time accounts for 73.6 percent. But in construction the two are roughly equal, 30.9 and 27.6 percent, respectively. In industry absenteeism is "preferred" to idle time, and in consumer services the majority ask for permission from their bosses before taking time off work. And for some reason they get it. Here 59.7 percent of losses have the blessing of those who ought to be guarding labor discipline, the immediate leaders. So please go ahead and turn on the faucets wherever you want.

A small figures strikes you on each line of the section on idle time during shifts. It does not seem very big—just 3 percent in industry and 5 percent in construction. But let us note that these are percentages of the whole shift time. If we add up all this idle time, the total is impressive. It is as if over 1 million people were not working at all. Yet people were at their workbenches, at construction sites, or at the wheel. But doing nothing. As a result, there was a shortfall in output and R30 billion of construction and installation work was not carried out.

As a rule, our idle time is not unpaid, and forced inactivity is paid at the normal rate. And when we make up for lost time, then we get paid double. Isn't this why there is unprecedented enthusiasm for working overtime: in industry 284 million man-hours and in construction 170 million. It looks as though every lost minute has cost triple the price.

We expect concrete results from perestroyka: goods and provisions in the shops, new housing in towns and villages and normal working conditions in production. But if we wait idly by, working in a mediocre fashion, then changes will not take place—we cannot expect things to be handed to us on a plate. We are significantly behind the West in the production of material wealth. And there everyone is getting ahead apparently because people do not go running to the stores during their worktime, and, when they have received their pay, they arrive the following day at their workbenches with a clear head and on time. So we, too, it seems, must roll up our sleeves and start a "new life."

Without discipline, perestroyka is not perestroyka. But even discipline is different today. No one wants people to bow and scrape to every "superior." We should get down to work creatively, with intelligence, going not by the book but by common sense. And work will get moving, and at the same time real wealth will appear, in the form of sausages, apartments, and good service.

Let me note yet another trend of which it is said: "Fish seek deeper waters and men seek a better life." Statistics show that we have become more mobile. If we hear that the pay is a bit better somewhere else, we hand in our notice. Then it turns out that the new place is no bed of roses either, and we do not heitate for long, but again hand in our notice. Cadre turnover is growing. Out of every 100 jobs last year, 12.6 had a change of incumbent in industry, 14.4 in construction, and 13.6 in motor transport. In certain regions, personnel are particularly "volatile." For instance, turnover in industry in the

Central Asian republics is between 16 and 20 percent of the average work force and in it is Azerbaijan 18 percent. In the construction subunits of Kirghizia, Armenia, Turkmenia, and Kazakhstan turnover is 20 percent per year. But, quite apart from the time wasted in moving from one place to another, sometimes there are also no advantages. Wise people say: "The grass is always greener on the other side." It is true that there are now quite a few enterprises, collective farms, and state farms which are run in a sensible way, collectively, and which care about their people. There they realize that to retain cadres is the same as increasing labor discipline. If you think according to the criteria of perestroyka. That is why workers value their jobs and do not turn up at their benches with string bags in their pockets so they can slip away on personal business as soon as the foreman turns his back.

Suspension of Nuclear Reactor Construction Urged

LD0808120689 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] Kiev August 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya:

Academician Boris Paton, people's deputy of the USSR and president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, has called for suspending the construction of nuclear power stations in the Ukraine until a new generation of nuclear reactors with an increased degree of safety are developed.

He emphasised that water-moderated and water-cooled power reactors as well as those of RMBK and VTTR type are morally and technically obsolescent.

In his view, it is possible to increase the capacity of nuclear power stations only by using plants which meet new rigid safety requirements.

Radiation dangers associated with the development of nuclear power engineering became particularly obvious following the Chernobyl accident three years ago.

The consequent contamination of farm produce with radionuclides may result in the supply of radioactive food to the population of not only the Ukraine but also other regions of the country, the academician warns.

Paton's opinion is that about 90 per cent of the republic's territory is unfavourable for the siting and safe operation of nuclear power stations from geological and hydrogeological points of view.

Besides, according to scientific data, the saturation of the Ukraine with nuclear power stations would inevitably lead to an increase in radiation background levels and deterioration of people's health.

Paton believes that the alternative to further construction of nuclear power stations on the republic's territory is the large scale introduction of power-saving technologies and the use of such sources of power as the sun, wind and thermal waters.

It is necessary to thoroughly analyse power consumption, which will reveal reserves equal to the capacity of several nuclear power stations, the scientist said.

"Unfortunately, the departmental approach has not yet disappeared in this important field either," Paton said. "The Ministry of the Nuclear Power Engineering and Industry is a bastion that is hard to penetrate. But this should be done to prevent a recurrence of Chernobyl-type disasters. Science, and not departmental interest, should have the final say."

Radiation Levels Around Chernobyl Noted

18300752 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 11

[Article by Igor Shklyarskiy: "Children in the Radiation Zone"]

[Text]

1. The Facts

The cloud from Chernobyl lowered itself on Belorussia. Radioactive dust lay on the hayfields, in the oak groves, on the rooftops, in the pools of the Pripyat and the Sozh, in the orchards and roads to the fields, the lakes and marshes....

Twelve rayons—over 500 villages of Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts—were dusted with cesium 137, strontium, and plutonium.

Three years later, there appeared on the map the dusted areas: **permanent evacuation zone, exclusion zone, and strict control zone.**

Black dots and bands cover the Slavgorodskiy, Cherikovskiy, Krasnopolskiy, Kostyukovichskiy, and Klimovichskiy Rayons of the Mogilev area (250 villages).

The Bryansk area, not shaded on the map, juts into the Gomel and Mogilev areas, but it was not God who shielded it with His palm. Only the contaminated locations within the boundaries of Belorussia are indicated.

The first commission of experts appeared in the Mogilev area a few months after the explosion at the Chernobyl AES [atomic energy station], and the commission members were surprised that children still remained in these places.

Then came commission after commission.

Some said, "They must not live here; the people should be resettled."

Others said, "They may live here, but they should not use the gifts of the forest and gardens (such advice, given the state of provisions of our villages and rayon centers!)—and they are prohibited from drinking milk.

I would note that people rarely drink tea in Belorussian villages. This has been the case for ages—they drink kissel [fruit compote] and birch sap, but their main beverage is fresh whole milk.

Thirty "coffin" rubles were added to the pay of residents of the dusted areas. And here is the capriciousness of the wind... On one side of the street, they received the supplement; on the other, they did not. But the cows graze in the same meadow, and the children run across the street, and the same wind disperses the dust. Then the cesium and strontium penetrated the soil. Now there is root contamination, according to Aleksandr Petrovich Malnikov, chief of the radiation hygiene department of the Mogilev Oblast public health station.

From now on are only the facts:

In order to remain healthy a person may not accumulate more than 35 rem (roentgen equivalent in man) over 70 years.

Over 3 years, the residents of several villages of the Mogilev area have received more than 20 rems each.

Children "accumulate" more than adults due to their small size and the natural background: The closer one is to the ground, the stronger the radiation, plus the Chernobyl background.

The Chernobyl or Belorussian background is 15 curies. Higher than that is a strict control zone.

The village of Chudyany (Cherikovskiy Rayon, "Znamya" kolkhoz [collective farm]), 147 curies....

The village of Novoyelnya (Krasnopolskiy Rayon), 92 curies...

The village of Repishche (Krasnopolskiy Rayon), 127 curies...

Drogomilovo, Gotovets, Zapolyanye, Samotevichi, Vysokiy Borok—there are 38 villages with background radiation of 40 curies or more.

The milk is "dirty" in 530 localities. In 72 localities milk is contaminated at 10 times the norm. There were cases at private farms where the milk was contaminated at 100 (one hundred!) times the norm.

Aleksandr Vasiliyevich Stepanenko, vice president of the BeSSR [Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences, feels that these villages must not be inhabited. The increase of illnesses and unpredictable consequences in the future [fragment as published]. Low-level doses of radiation over prolonged periods are more harmful than higher doses over short periods.

2. The School

Before the first commission, that is, the first half year, as well as in the carefree intervals, the children of the dusted areas drank radioactive milk.

Yes, there had been warnings, but after milking the cow can the housewife pour the milk on the ground? Can she milk the cow and discard the milk every day? And where is this Chernobyl anyway? Over 300 versts away... And nobody really knows anything for sure. And there has never been anything like this before. And everyone wants to believe that his village was not dusted. During that first Chernobyl year my Mogilev friend said, "They are living the way they have always lived..."

When the full tragedy of the situation was finally acknowledged, the children were restricted to the schoolhouse walls. They were deprived of the opportunity for movement; the rivers, ravines, forests, yards, soccer fields, and the warm meadow ditches were taken from them. The school became a barracks with meals brought in. There were not enough teachers, not enough doctors, not enough salespeople. In the dusted regions they work by bringing people in from the outside in shifts.

At one school, a gym teacher (I will not mention his name) teaches mathematics... A selfless teacher, he rejected the idea of bringing in others from the outside to do the work, and his fiance in Mogilev rejected him. The matter was put thus: Either me or the radiation...

Anemia has been observed in many children. The doctors' assurances that this is caused not by radiation but by lack of activity and poor nutrition are of little comfort. Parents are already afraid to give children fruit from their own garden. Incidence of anemia is highest in Krasnopol Rayon. The young prisoners of the asphalt and schoolhouse walls are leading the life of the elderly; their vision is growing weak and their state of mind is suffering.

The children and their parents must either be immediately resettled or a poster hung on the schools: "SCIENCE REQUIRES SACRIFICES."

The parents have already had their say:

"Why should I have land like this? No garden, no cows...."

"Give me the right to choose...."

"Pay me for my house and I will leave on my own...."

"Could it be that we are mice in an experiment?"

They have already been invited to other, uncontaminated regions; they chose their residence, but there is no money. Millions are needed in order to pay each family for its house.

Once, in the north, a snowstorm drove me to call upon strangers. I asked to spend the night. The host said, "There's no need to apologize; nobody carries his home with him."

The people driven by radiation cannot carry their homes with them. It should not be that people have to move like poor relations, humiliated. As it is, it is not a simple thing to do, to abandon your native area forever.

3. The Secret of Secrets

The clover meadows, the white precipices of the Sozh, the quiet stream Pronya. How many of my bonfires burned on these precipices; how many nights I spent in haystacks, inhaling the smell of clover. The sun would rise and I would climb out of the warm burrow with dried flowers in my hair, shaking off the flower pollen of the pre-Chernobyl era.

There is now cesium hidden in these meadows.

I recall that I would walk from the river to the highway, sucking clover, stuffing my mouth full of wild strawberries and blackberries, gathering mushrooms. To see a clean white edible boletus would make your heart glad, just as it was 1,000 years before Chernobyl....

And now man is alienated as he bypasses the wild strawberries, alienated as he passes up the white mushrooms. He looks with alienation upon the circles created by the fish splashing.

Not permitted, not permitted... For the first time in the history of mankind, the failure of genetic memory. The asphalt dead-end of childhood and the secret death of sensitivity. After all, the wellsprings of joy, happiness, seeking, and gratitude toward life dry out in the consciousness.

And what remains?

Laziness, fear, indifference, nonparticipation. They become greater and the equilibrium in the consciousness is destroyed. The tragedy of Chernobyl not visible to the naked eye has not yet been recognized by psychologists and philosophers.

Say some lad in the woods of Barkalabovo or somewhere near Slavgorod sees a dark red wild strawberry. His palate, not yet dulled by smoking, and his mucus membranes are 1,000 times more sensitive than that of adults. The temptation to pick and eat it is stronger than the warning of the rayon newspaper. All the cells of his young being want to live; the millennia of experience in survival do not acknowledge the instruction according to which the terrible power of cesium or plutonium has concealed itself in this berry, this power which kills red blood corpuscles.

But if this boy proves to be exceptionally sensible and obedient... Who is to say which is more dangerous, a "dirty" strawberry or the numbing of joy, anemia of the soul?

Incidentally, the loss of this land should not be feared; it is neither the best nor the most fertile. Let it become overgrown with woods and grasses, it will rest and cleanse itself, and our great grandchildren will return to it. And since this is what has come to pass, there is no need to fear underfulfillment of the potato and wheat plan. We have enough land, if only there were hands and heads for farming.

...I passed through my childhood among the ruins with a piece of bread in my pocket, but half-starved and frozen we were all the same happier than the prisoners of radiation. And we were not anemic, because a milk can will hold 14,000 bilberries. This was counted on the way from Gomel to Mogilev in anticipation of a ride back (vehicles were infrequent then). These were 14,000 nonmechanical motions unlike gym class; excited, happy movements! The clean dew on the apples squeaked under your palm, and we could light a bonfire without any fear of breathing cesium smoke.

4. More Facts

People abandoned their truck gardens and stopped keeping cows, pigs, and sheep.

At the "Dubrava" sovkhoz [state farm] (Kostyukovichskiy Rayon) contractors from Minsk started to build a farm and clear a dirt road, but when they found out that the radiation was 8 curies, they quit the job and left.

Tractor and automobile air filters were sent to the Mogilev repair factory. They were tested for radiation, and the staff refused to repair them...

Crop and livestock farmers, tractor operators, foresters, and their children (10 percent of the population monitored is of the so-called critical group) live with elevated doses of external radiation.

At first, they brought hay and feed to the dusted villages, but the milk was "dirty" all the same.

The commission members promised:

"You will have clean milk a year from now."

A year passed. The people say:

"Come, answer for this!"

They had already wasted R100 million on paving roads and building kindergartens, and it turned out that they had to leave all the same.

Clover and buckwheat "try" very hard to accumulate radioactivity. Mushrooms are "dirty" all around. "Dirtier" than others are boletus luteus, milk-agaric, saffron milk-cap, and woolly milk-cap. All mushrooms have become poisonous.

The predatory fish "glows." It turn out that fish can "accumulate" radiation levels 100 and even 1,000 times higher than that found in the water.

Fishermen and amateur anglers brought to the public health station fish caught in various bodies of water. The catches were sometimes "dirty" and sometimes clean. People stopped fishing; They were deprived of one of their few joys.

Students from the Belorussian State University came to the village of Kulikovka to gather potatoes. Parents demanded that their children be returned. A bus came. The students were taken back to Minsk. True, half of them refused to leave. The residents of the entire rayon learned about this. And then people asked: "Why are students not allowed to live just 1 month here with us, but we and our children can live here?"

The doleful question hung in the air.

Perfect apparatus will appear 10 years from now which will then show that the "norms" were determined too roughly and that not all the consequences were taken into consideration at the "given phase of science." This has already happened in history.

If we were to learn to gather and preserve all that the earth, the clean earth gives us, we would compensate the losses with interest.

"Hello, Igor!"

They brought a piece of elk meat from Aleksandrovka. I tested it at the public health station, and buried it.

I tested the flesh—it glowed.

I tested the mushrooms—they glowed, they even shone. I sold my home.

Yours, M.Sh.

Letter from Mogilev

5. Chernobyl Is Always Today

Summer vacation has come. Trips, fishing, nights with a bonfire. Why don't those who feel that it is possible to live in the dusted areas send their grandchildren to one of the quiet villages of Mogilev or Gomel Oblast? There are such nice meadows, mushroom and berry forests there; the fishing is good on the Sozh, and the meanders of the Pripyat have crayfish you can catch with your bare hands. And how sweet it is to sleep on the mown clover, in the cool of the hayloft. Cows low below....

Optimistic experts, send your grandchildren and dispel all the fears and the rumors of the ignorant people!

I appeal to the country's citizens. Yes, there are many accounts, and we are already not so responsive. But even the most prudent, the most indifferent person, looking into the near future, will understand that in counting over the money spent on those relocated from radioactive regions, he is preserving the health of his own grandchildren as well....

After all, very soon your children will grow up, will enter the institute and will encounter, will unavoidably encounter, the children of the dusted region who are also entering these institutes and technical schools. They will fall in love with one another, and your children will become their wives and husbands. And you will have grandchildren with radiation effects.... If not children, then the grandchildren and great-grandchildren must marry each other, and cesium will penetrate the family tree.

Belorussians are a quiet and proud people. They bear the cross of Chernobyl without hysteria, as they bore their cross during the war and destruction.

They have borne this terrible, invisible cross for 3 years. Time heals mortal wounds; the timid grass grows over the ashes of normal fires; floods are forgotten. But after 3 years or after 30, Chernobyl is always today... And the further removed we are from Chernobyl in time, the more dangerous it is, for with each day people living in the zones are accumulating more and more radiation.

Radiation has no past. It has only today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow... It is not squeamish about young or old, it especially loves children with flexible spines, the backs of whose heads are soft and light.

I described the Belorussian grief, the land of my childhood. It is not within my power to mothball the typical gigantic structure, or AES, but I rely upon the commiseration of all humanity and am indicating an account opened by the Belorussian Council of Ministers at the initiative of writers to assist those relocated from the Mogilev and Gomel areas.

700073, Minsk, Oper Belrespzhilsotsbanka, USSR MFO [Inter-branch Circulation] 40019

Commentary by Vasiliy Sevostyanovich Leonov, first secretary of the Mogilev Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia.

Poet Igor Shklyarskiy's article raises the curtain on pages of the Chernobyl tragedy still unknown to our society. Today the situation in many of the rayons of Belorussia subjected to radiation is complicated, to put it mildly.

From the very start, a game of leapfrog with the so-called "acceptable norms" of radiation—the indices delimiting danger and safety—interfered with a serious evaluation of radiation effects and possible measures to withstand them. These indices are already "leaping" within the course of 3 years; for example, in 1986, 70 rems was acceptable, then 50, and now 35. And who can see to it that even 35 will not be lowered further?

And the indices of soil contamination are also leaping, and after all, the entire program of people's subsistence is based upon them! Public health officials confidently assure us that the most dangerous thing is to be subjected not to strong, but to constant radiation. The effect of low doses of radiation on the human organism is destructive; everyone now acknowledges this, and something must be undertaken to help people cope with the disaster.

We developed a program for resettling people without waiting for a unified state program. We opened a specialized lab on the site of the oblast agrochemical laboratory, and take soil samples and check them ourselves. The goal we set is not to evacuate everybody without fail; we are trying to determine how contaminated the given soil is, although even this is not simple with the errors of modern equipment and incomplete clarity on how many curies are dangerous, and how many are safe. And only then do we frankly state: No one may live here, this place must be evacuated. And you may live here, but it could be that it is dangerous; it would be better to move. And the people themselves chose what to do. According to our polls, 7-10 percent of the people, primarily the elderly, prefer to remain where they are. This is not easy, after all, to leave a long-inhabited place, to sever bonds of kinship and other relations. And where to relocate? This is not a simple question either. We take people around in buses and offer a selection of places. The state promises to subsidize such a relocation program; it will cost no less than R1.5 billion. With our deficit, this is an enormous sum!

Today it is necessary to resettle 33,000 of the oblast's 1.3 million residents. And in order to resettle them permanently, it must be established how many curies humans are allowed, a survival count, not an abstract scientific account. And the contaminated lands must be mothballed; this is not a tragedy of only one decade! We are now wasting piles of money on rendering harmless the lands which we will be leaving anyway.

Measures to restore normal life in areas where it is possible are another matter: decontamination, irrigation, chalking, deep plowing, high levels of fertilizer, etc. Some 40 percent of our territory, including several rayon centers, for example Ternkov and Slavgorod, is now in need of such help. And this will also require more than a little money, not less than R1-1.5 billion.

But today even more than money, we need genuine glasnost. It is shameful to recall, but I learned about the accident only 2 days later, just like everybody else, and even that was incomplete. I learned of the genuine scale of the tragedy (that is, if I even know it now) only in July; that is, 2 months later. Then came the story of reducing the number of rems from 70 to 35, twofold! You can understand how people regarded this and what I head from them about it. But I am not offended; they are right to demand the full truth of the oblast party leadership.

I think that the time has come for honest conversation with people. Man must not perceive himself to be a hostage of the accident. As soon as he is freed from this perception, everything will be set right.

Situation of Chernobyl Soldiers Viewed

PM2407120789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 89 p 2

[Report by Ye. Zhirnov: "Forgotten Garrison; Few People Know the Conditions Under Which the Draftees Are Serving To Guard the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station Accident Zone"]

[Text] The Chernobyl zone. Some 7,000 square km radiating death. Divided by barriers into 10-km and 30-km zones according to the level of contamination. Subconsciously you expect murk, swamps, and landscapes like those in "Stalker" [film by Tarkovskiy].

Here live the "liquidators"—the reserve soldiers and officers taking part in the elimination of the accident, the stalkers of Chernobyl. And in addition, a regiment of internal troops' soldiers guards the barriers and the nuclear electric power station [AES] inside the zone—several thousand boys ages 18-20! The press knows nothing of them and the television journalists pass by their barracks and guard details. And there is complete silence. Information about them was a complete surprise. I drove round the units and spoke with the boys and their commanders...

There is no point in retelling what has been written about the accident at the Chernobyl AES. To understand the present-day situation just one fact is needed—the explosion was not a nuclear one. The reactor was blown apart (after the cooling had been turned off) by hot gases. Solid particles from the reactor's active zone—uranium, plutonium, and decay products—were scattered by the explosion and dispersed by the wind over an enormous territory. The process of their natural radioactive decay is continuing. The misfortune which has descended on the earth together with the radioactive dust is caused by our main misfortune—the passion for illusions. I shall describe to you the main illusions.

First illusion: The consequences of the accident can be liquidated.

Decontamination is considered the main means of "struggling" against radionuclides. We must have a clear idea of the point of this procedure. It means using a solution of the special substance SF-2U to wash equipment contaminated by radiation. The procedure is repeated until the radiation level drops to an acceptable limit. If it does not the vehicles, armored personnel carriers, and helicopters have one destination—the "burial ground."

The same solution is used to wash houses and roads and it pours onto the long-suffering land and into the rust-colored roadsides. As a result there are signs on the roads reading "access to roadside forbidden" and "radiation danger." Yes, the roads are becoming cleaner and transport is being less contaminated. But the radiation situation as a whole is not changing; the particles are merely being moved from place to place.

I cannot get rid of the thought that work to decontaminate the villages, which is costing tens and hundreds of thousands of rubles, is nothing other than show and the pointless spending of the people's money.

Ultimately we must realize that mankind cannot control the speed of radioactive decay. The laws of nature do not obey orders from officers of any rank.

On the other hand the following stories can be the result of lies. A mobile radiological laboratory is measuring the radiation level along the roadside. A little boy in a T-shirt and shorts comes around the bend on a bicycle with a fishing rod attached to it. When he is stopped by the military he says that he is going fishing, that he has come here from Rzhev to stay with his grandmother for the vacation.

Just think! He has come to the zone for a vacation! Thanks to the press his parents have been convinced that the radiation situation is improving.

You can drive another R50 billion into the ground in the zone but the accursed nuclei will not disintegrate any more rapidly. Nothing will change. In addition to everything else we do not know exactly what is changing in the radiation situation and how.

Second illusion: All the servicemen working in the zone are reliably protected against the action of ionizing radiation.

After these words there arises from the depths of my memory the memorable image of a soldier in a rubber combined arms protective suit with a submachinegun in a horizontal position. A wonderful image! In this kit you can without any risk to your health (apart from heat stroke) rush through a contaminated sector of terrain in your armored personnel carrier. It is merely a pity that it is virtually impossible to wear a combined arms protective suit for a whole day, still less to work in it. And even the suit becomes contaminated and starts to emit radiation as badly as a soldier's cotton suit.

There remains one hope—the gas mask. This brilliant invention of Academician Zelinskiy, which goes back to the time of World War I, continues to serve, in modified form, as protection against several toxins. But an important detail emerges. The radionuclides accumulating in the mask's filter element make it a find source of radiation carried at the soldier's side.

In addition it is simply difficult to breathe through a gas mask and instead soldiers are issued the "Lepestok-200" breathing apparatus. Breathing through it is not very easy either, but it weighs far less. It is true that there are other shortcomings: It does not fit closely to the face and radioactive dust is drawn in through the cracks when the soldier breathes. And a last point: I was told at the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Scientific Center of Radiation Medicine laboratory about indirect and estimated methods of dosimetry in Kiev, and that of 10 "Lepestok" apparatus worn by soldiers on guard duty near the Chernobyl AES, 3 had radioactive cerium-144 on the inner surface.

Pharmacological means designed to absorb radiation and remove contaminated substances from the organism are once again designed for one time because of their own high level of toxicity.

There remain three methods of "reducing" the dose absorbed: liquor, green tea, and the lemon, known since the time of Hiroshima to possess this property.

Liquor does a wonderful job in connecting the free radicals which arise in the contaminated cells but this method is prohibited to soldiers. Tea stimulates the metabolic processes and is used without restrictions by the soldiers although it is true that they usually buy it at their own expense. I will mention lemons, which contain vitamins C, P, and B, a little later.

There remains only the soldier's washed cotton suit, boots, and forage cap.

Third illusion: The worst soldiers which other units do not need are being sent to Chernobyl.

One soldier described how since he has been transferred to the Chernobyl regiment his parents have been asking him in their letters what crime he committed, and why he has been punished in this way.

Dear parents, don't worry, boys who have come here without the slightest health defects are serving in this regiment.

Fourth illusion: Staying in the zone now has no grave consequences for health because the radiation level is quite low.

As for acute radiation sickness in its classical form, the authors of such claims are right. Recently it has indeed not been observed. In 1986-1987 soldiers fell ill and even died after being discharged into the reserve.

The main brunt of the consequences of radiation has been shifted to the near future. In the opinion of specialists from the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine, in 5-10 years time there will be a considerable increase in the likelihood of malignant tumors and various blood diseases for those who served in the zone. The consequences of damage to the nervous and endocrine systems and thyroid gland will have an effect. The possibility of genetic anomalies is not ruled out.

At present the diseases are mainly "ordinary" ones: gastrointestinal, eye, nervous, and other diseases. But morbidity in this regiment is twice as high as among the troops in general. Since this regiment was created in 1987, in the second half of the year there has been an average of 4 working days lost per soldier.

Diseases of the respiratory organs still lie ahead. The "hot" dust contains a large proportion of the spectrum of long-lived radionuclides, far more than tobacco smoke which, the Health Ministry asserts, causes malignant tumors of the respiratory organs.

The main reasons for diseases are the instability of the nervous system because of the fear of radiation—radiophobia—the lack of physical exertion (cross-country races through radioactive dust are forbidden), vitamin deficiency, and the acute deterioration in the quality of food.

Yes, yes. Don't be surprised. This year the average monthly morbidity increased by one-third compared with last year.

Fifth illusion: The soldiers in the zone are fed very well and provided with everything necessary.

That was the case until the end of 1988, until the Chernobyl AES switched to economic accountability. Gradually, since the end of 1987, there has been a deterioration in the range of foods assigned to soldiers. A soldier is allocated 80 grams of canned fish. But formerly they were sprats and now... Permission has been revoked to purchase vegetables at prices set by the local soviets. This means that a soldier receives vegetables and fruit only when the rear services' officers are able to buy them at the average estimated price. And we are talking about lemons. The Chernobyl soldier receives a miserable half-glass of apple juice....

The 1-D additional food norm has been repealed. The station is paid only the 9-D additional norm. As a result the soldier's food per day even stretching a point does not exceed R2.40 while R5.72 are spent on an AES worker. It is true that while on guard the soldiers of one battalion eat at the AES canteen but that merely intensifies their dissatisfaction.

And so economic accountability is at the expense of the boys' lives and health. The ordinary rules for exchanging uniform apply to those guarding the 10-km and 30-km zones and they walk about in radioactive blouses.

There is no gasoline for trips on passes to Kiev or even to Slavutich. There are no spare parts for vehicles, and distances in the zone are not measured. So drivers advance on their last crippled vehicle to the "burial ground" and "find" all the necessary spare parts there. The result is that the doors of a "uazik" truck emit 6 roentgens an hour.

And the list of what is missing could be continued again and again. What can you do? The norms do not take account of the regiment's special position, and payments from the Chernobyl AES and the "Combine" to the internal troops directorate for the Ukraine and Moldavia have been reduced by a factor of four recently.

Sixth and final illusion: The military is performing an important state task—they are guarding the accident zone.

That is the main illusion. What are they guarding, and from whom? Long since "liquidated" property abandoned in 1986? Are they guarding the zone against the onslaught of hunters, fishermen, and mushroom pickers?

In previous years there were violations of the zones' barriers. But by whom? By former local inhabitants who rushed to their own country churchyards on church holidays. Now buses are issued to them in an organized manner. And there are no violations. Wild boars and elks break through the wire and roe deer jumping across the fences raise alarm groups. This year no other violators were observed.

The guarding of the Chernobyl AES can be carried out by regulars and ensigns. That is far more expensive to the AES because an ensign will not agree to a wage of R14 and he needs an apartment.

References to the construction of a military township in Slavutich are unsound. Waiting until 1992 means ruining the health of thousands of boys. In addition only 14 percent of the volumes planned for this year had been commissioned in the first 5 months.

And finally USSR people's deputies need to resolve the question of benefits for those taking part in the elimination of the consequences of the accident.

And the most important thing. We must put an end to illusions. The fuss over the Chernobyl AES serves no purpose except the pointless expenditure of money. Many scientists have already admitted that this land will be unsuitable for human habitat for many decades to come. The borders of the zone should be specified on the basis of the real radiation situation and should be released from secret maps. The Chernobyl AES should be closed.

The Chernobyl zone, as in the Strugatskiy brothers' story [apparently reference to the brothers' story "Picnic at the Roadside," of which no further details are known], is the result of a picnic. A picnic with ribbon cutting, to the sound of bands playing, with orders and prize winners' titles being issued.

But in the meantime the boys are serving in mortal danger at the station, raising and breathing in radioactive dust as they run along the polluted zone to the places where wild boar have broken through the wire. They are accomplishing an exploit.

An exploit which is not needed, which has been forgotten even before it has been accomplished.

From the editorial office. We are publishing this item for one sole purpose: drawing attention, before it is too late, to the present situation of servicemen in the region of the Chernobyl AES accident.

They need help. Help not only from the command but also from the soviet and economic organs. And immediate help.

Earthquake Committee Meets, Discusses Problems

NC2307135489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] A regular meeting of the republic's state committee studying ways to overcome the consequences of the earthquake has been held with Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the committee and of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, in the chair.

The [word indistinct] of the situation in the disaster areas has shown that considerable work has been done over the past months. The problems of land allocation have been solved. Construction bases have been created and the foundations for construction projects laid.

However, the general situation as far as reconstruction is concerned is extremely complicated. There are objective factors preventing an acceleration of the work called for in the plans. The work on the construction of schools, particularly intermediate and higher technical schools, is particularly unsatisfactory.

The committee proposed a series of concrete measures to overcome the tension that has been created.

'United Front of Working People' Established

PM2007124789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Shtitsberg report: "United Front of Working People Set Up"]

[Text] The USSR United Front of Working People was set up at the constituent congress of councils of socialist movements held last Saturday [15 July] and Sunday in Leningrad. The congress elected a coordination council as the leading organ of the United Front of Working People. For now the new organization is registered with the Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee, and documents have been submitted for its registration with the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Representatives of international-socialist movements and working people's fronts from Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldavia, the Ukraine, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Moscow, and Leningrad took part in the congress. On 17 July at a news conference in the House of Culture named for the Leningrad City Soviet the congress delegates and leaders of the United Front of Working People acquainted journalists with the program documents and talked about the movement's aims.

One of the main program tasks of the new sociopolitical organization is to maintain the Soviet Armed Forces' high combat readiness, strengthen their ties with the working people, rebuff attacks on the general military service obligation, and educate Soviet people in a spirit of readiness to defend the motherland.

At the news conference answers were given to journalists' numerous questions, and a telegram from the congress to the striking Kuzbass miners expressing solidarity with their demands and advising them to find other, anti-strike methods of fighting for their rights was read out.

The new sociopolitical movement enjoys the broad support of Leningrad's labor collectives.

Scientific Conference in Semipalatinsk Ends

LD2307175889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast: video report by A. Laptev]

[Text] A scientific and practical conference, the health of the population and the ecological situation in the city of Semipalatinsk and Semipalatinsk oblast, has been held in Semipalatinsk. Here is our correspondent A. Laptev

[Laptev] Scientists and public activists from Alma-Ata, Novosibirsk, and Moscow, representatives of party, Soviet, and trade union bodies, and delegates from labor collectives from a number of contiguous oblasts in Kazakhstan and Altay Kray gathered at this forum of a kind held on the land where 40 years ago our own nuclear weapon was tested for the first time. Unfortunately in those days they did not know—or did not want to know—about the consequences of that action for people living in the immediate vicinity of the testing ground. [Video shows conference with speakers at lectern.]

[V.F. Stepanenko, head of the Laboratory of Internal Irradiation Dosimetry, Medical Radiology Scientific Research Institute, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, identified by caption] It has been established that the population of Abayskiy, Beskaragayskiy, and Zhanasemeyskiy rayons was most affected by radiation during the period when ground and atmospheric tests of nuclear payloads were carried out. This especially applies to the 1949 blast.

The commission has issued a number of recommendations for improving the ecological situation in the oblast. I can say that during the period of ground tests, irradiation doses were not exceeded in any instances. [Video shows Stepanenko interviewed outside a building with a welcoming banner for the conference.]

[Kh.M. Motayev, first secretary of the Abayskiy Rayon Party Committee, identified by caption] The working people of the rayon are suffering the enormous tragic consequences of these blasts. The number of cancer patients has increased. Now we have started to get people who have been affected, young people up to 25-30. They have started to, well, commit suicide by hanging themselves. Over the last 10 years we have had 104 such cases. We never had such a thing in the life of our rayon before. Children with debility and mentally retarded children have started to appear. The working people's wish is that there should be no testing ground on our territory. [Video shows Motayev being interviewed.]

[Laptev] The conference lasted 3 days, attracting ever increasing attention from the residents of Semipalatinsk, just like this dosimeter mounted in the shop window of the city's central dispensing chemist, which so far is probably the only public municipal dosimeter throughout the union.

The discussions and arguments, regretfully not always conducted in a correct manner, did not cease during the breaks, frequently spilling out into the city squares and streets.

[S.B. Balmukhanov, academician, Kazakh Academy of Sciences, identified by caption] We all understand that we need a defense capability. We all understand that these days we cannot remain without nuclear weapons. There are only two such superstates—we and the United States—and our commanders' attempts to stay at the same level are quite understandable. But we scientists think that this kind of competition could be stopped. Who is going to have enough courage to stop first? [video shows Balmukhanov being interviewed; Lieutenant General A.D. Ilyenko, officer in charge of the Semipalatinsk testing ground stands to the left of him.]

[Laptev] The participants in the conference unanimously voted in favor of closing down the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground.

Exhibition on Khrushchev Era Highlighted

PM0908122989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[N. Kishchik article: "Khrushchev. Those 10 Years"]

[Text] "Khrushchev. Those 10 Years." This is the title of an exhibition that has opened in Moscow's Palace of Youth, the main idea of which is symbolically expressed by the publicity poster with two pictures of Khrushchev—in one he is dressed in black and in the other white.

"We do not claim to have conducted global research; this is just one attempt to look back at the 1960's and express the view of the generation of 30- and 40-year-olds on that period," V. Buzdygan, member of the exhibition organizing committee, said. "Meetings and conversations with eminent journalists and economists from the 1960's and 1980's and with political figures from Nikita Sergeyevich's entourage form the basis of the exhibition. Our main advisers were his two grandsons, Nikita Adzhubey and Nikita Khrushchev.

"We are counting on interest being shown by the most varied people. The generation of the 1960's is being given the opportunity to become absorbed in the atmosphere of that time and see a great many things that have been carefully hidden from our eyes. The younger generation has a rather vague knowledge of this period of our history. It is the young people that we are mainly addressing."

...Posters, archive material, press cuttings, sculptures, paintings, photographs—these historical documents will tell visitors to the exhibition about the years when Nikita Sergeyevich was party leader and about the role he played in the most diverse areas of our life. This was the time of our country's breakthrough into space, the famous speech to the United Nations, and the so-called discussions with the creative intelligentsia....

What kind of man was he, Nikita Sergeyevich?... Anticipating the story of the dark and light sides of his personality, we propose that our audience see with their own eyes and appraise his greatest achievement of all—bringing back the innocent victims of Stalinism from the Gulag and rehabilitating them.

World Council of Churches Meets in Moscow

18001428 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 1

[Article by I.M.: "Dialogue Without Confrontation"]

[Text] The work of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches (WCC), an international ecumenical organization which unites more than 300 Christian churches, is coming to an end in Moscow.

Having its roots in the missionary movement at the end of the 19th century, striving to overcome the separation of churches by means of contacts over and above denominational barriers, ecumenism in our time has become a powerful humanitarian movement in the form of different organizations, among which the WCC is among the most active and influential. The WCC bases its activities on several programs, themes, and directions which encompass virtually all aspects of life and offer solutions to political, socioeconomic and contemporary moral problems on the basis of Christian tradition. The WCC does not encroach on the dogmatic foundations of churches. It leaves alone free will and independent judgment; it merely calls on churches to cooperate toward a single goal: peace, justice, and the integrity of creation.

The WCC Central Committee is meeting in our country for the first time by invitation of member churches: the Russian Orthodox Church, Georgian Orthodox Church, Armenian Apostolic Church, Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Latvia, and the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists.

The moderator of the WCC Central Committee, Dr Heinz-Joachim Held, stated in a report that "this conference is taking place at the time when new possibilities for activity and service by Christian churches for the good of all people are opening up in this country. In my view, not the least significant aspect of our conference is the fact that we can communicate here in Moscow with all churches now at a moment so significant both to the Soviet Union and for mutual relations among peoples of the entire world."

Metropolitan Aleksiy of Leningrad and Novgorod stated that "the ecumenical movement has ancient and historic traditions. It has become a significant aspect of the world-wide movement toward humanism and unification. It is only natural that today the ecumenical movement stresses social questions, such as preventing a nuclear catastrophe, maintaining peace of earth, war on poverty, and protection of the environment. But all these questions are closely tied to the issues of morals and education. The predatory approach to nature, which we observe, indicates that mankind has lost its moral foundations. Therefore Christians are raising their voices in the defense of those foundations, calling on people to look around themselves and think before it's too late."

The ecumenical movement is a movement toward each other, a movement of various denominations, bringing them closer, and therefore a corresponding movement of peoples. For instance, among the ecumenical organizations on the European level there is a commission entitled "Islam in Europe." Together with representatives of Islam, we are trying to find ways of cooperating. This is very important because the number of Muslims in Europe is constantly growing. There is also an example of ecumenical cooperation on a regional level in this country. This example was given by Estonia where a council of churches was created in February, uniting five denominations on Estonian territory: Lutherans, Russian Orthodox, Baptists, Seventh-Day Adventists, and Methodists. I am convinced that such dialogue brings a hopeful outlook. Cooperation without conflict is the only way possible today. Therefore I find it very significant that the WCC Central Committee has met in Moscow for the first time. This will help deepen our contacts and strengthen our ties between churches. A special forum on perestroyka was organized for the guests which leading political, public, and cultural figures were invited to address. They presented an unadorned picture of the sociopolitical life of the country and its problems. They were genuinely open and I hope convinced the guests that the changes in our country are irreversible.

Academy Discusses 'Modern' Socialist Concept

PM2407104189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Part two of article prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium social sciences section based on its regular monthly seminar, under the rubric "Questions of Theory: Discussion Platform": "Toward a Modern Concept of Socialism"; part one of the article was published on pages 87-91 of the 7 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text]

IV.

The Leninist model of socialism is the most important source of the modern view of socialism. However, its application should be creative in nature. One should not seek pat answers to present-day questions in Lenin.

Those answers are given by the science and practice of today and the CPSU, which generalizes the achievements of science and practice. The creative development of Leninist teaching on socialism has found expression in the documents of CPSU Central Committee plenums and the 19th party conference and speeches by M.S. Gorbachev. They have portrayed the real picture of present-day socialism, the democratic, humane socialism based on the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress and management science towards which restructuring is leading.

If you give society the task of endowing "socialism with the most modern forms corresponding to the conditions and requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and the intellectual progress of Soviet society", (M.S. Gorbachev "October and Perestroyka: The Revolution Goes On." ["Oktyabr i Perestroyka: Revolutsiya Prodolzhayetsya] Moscow 1987, p 31) it is essential first and foremost to clearly determine the socialist ideal and only then put it into practice. What does the new vision of socialism consist of, then? Should this be a detailed construct determining the structural elements of the future society or is it merely an aggregate of general requirements, principles, and norms? In the first case, the new vision of socialism is required to supply sufficiently meaningful, albeit preliminary descriptions of the new system in the sphere of economics, politics, and ideology and descriptions and accounts of the structures whose implementation is to be the business of practical workers. In the second case, it is only the fundamental requirements (greater social justice, equality, democracy, glasnost, and so forth) that are involved. But in so doing the structures and mechanisms whereby these requirements or principles are realized cannot be determined unambiguously.

There does arise, of course, the question of the extent to which a normative approach to the building of socialism is, in general, justified. It might be supposed that the abstract construction of a model and singling out of the "best features of the organization of society" is a route which will easily lead to dogmatism if the idea of socialist society is in some way "dispatched from above" rather than growing out of life and the realities of practical social relations. Clearly an approach which consists in studying real human relations, the dynamics of the requirements and interests of social groups, and their conflicts and collaboration and research into the real contradictions of society is more legitimate.

In other words, the new understanding of socialism should not place the prospects for social development in opposition to present-day tasks. On the contrary, it is the demands of life that determine the complexion of the society for which restructuring works.

Any concept of socialism should primarily meet the criterion of socialism, by which one means the priority of man and his interests and requirements. Socialism is a system that delivers man from exploitation and oppression, places him at the center of social life, and creates the prerequisites for the free development of everyone in conditions of the free development of all.

When people talk about freeing the working man as socialism's vocation they often restrict this freedom to the elimination of the economic exploitation of man by man and almost never speak about freeing him from political and social oppression. And yet exploitation and oppression are not the same thing! With exploitation we are talking about the **appropriation of surplus value** created by one and appropriated by another, while with oppression it is a case of the suppression and **appropriation of an individual's will.**

Civil society under socialism is required to provide the economic basis for the freedom of every individual and every citizen without which socialism is impossible and real socialist democracy cannot exist.

One might suppose that the deformation of socialist democracy is not related just to abuse of power but is also rooted in the economic features of the command-and-administer system. Under conditions of the undivided domination of state forms of ownership the previous forms of exploitation do not exist. But perhaps the necessary socioeconomic bases for the freedom of the individual are lacking here. After all, the cult of the personality, the usurpation of power, and totalitarian forms of rule in individual socialist countries have had as their basis precisely state forms of ownership which have sealed the economic and, consequently, the political dependence of the individual.

The renewal of socialism is designed to strengthen the personal independence of every working person. In this regard it is important to carry out the decentralization of state ownership, since this will not run counter to modern production. Socialism can perfectly well have many levels of ownership: ownership by all the people, collective farm ownership, cooperative, municipal, and individual ownership, and so forth.

Under socialism the problem of combining highly dynamic production, social protection, and full employment is becoming increasingly urgent. Hitherto the maintenance of full employment has been achieved to a considerable extent at the expense of production efficiency. This has substantially deformed the whole sphere of labor relations and produced a shift in the values and labor attitudes of the population. Diverse forms of exhibiting collective and group selfishness have become firmly established. Nonlabor relationships and unearned income have spread widely. There has been a decline in the competence of specialists and collective and personal responsibility for the results and quality of work. Technical, environmental, and economic standards are low.

The breakthrough in attitudes initiated by the transition to new management conditions, which increased the potential for increasing labor productivity and production efficiency, brought a new problem to life. There appeared the threat of inadequate social protection for people under the new management conditions in the event of large-scale cuts in personnel, structural reorganization, and closure of enterprises. This produced a flurry of social discontent, a growth in tension in society, and an intensification of people's social activeness but weakening of their labor activeness. Such a situation could retard the pace of development.

That is why it is so important to answer the following questions: Is socialism capable, while retaining its system of values and social safeguards, of simultaneously ensuring high flexibility and efficiency of the economy and successful mastery of the achievements of scientific and technical progress? Or does economic progress inevitably exact a high social cost in the shape of unemployment, lack of security in life, and an absence of social safeguards?

Social safeguards and economic effectiveness are two aspects of social development. Consistently implemented social safeguards are an important source for boosting production effectiveness. At the same time only an economically highly effectiive system can ensure the constant growth of social protection.

Historical experience has shown that the predominantly administrative ways of organizing economic life, the management methods, and the political and ideological institutions prevalent at the previous stage were unable to solve the contradictions between social priorities and effective econmomic management. That could only be solved by creating new, considerably more effective incentives for peoples's economic, social, and moral activeness.

Whether socialism can deliver a worthy response to the historical challenge depends upon its ability to carry out revolutionary transformations in all spheres of economic, political, and spiritual life. As far as the technological basis of the national economy is concerned, for example, the move toward expanding the technological restructuring front to the scale of the whole national economy, speeding up the introduction of information technology, the latest physical and chemical treatment methods, and biotechnology, developing alternative sources of energy, and so forth is vitally necessary. Profound structural restructuring of the national economy in the direction of ensuring the leading position of the sectors that exert a crucial influence upon economic growth—microelectronics, new materials, data processing, and others—will become feasible on this basis. As will the transition from partial, sporadic computer-based automation to automation on a mass scale.

The implementation of these thrusts will provide a reliable material basis for really radical changes in the efficiency and quality of economic growth. The essence of these changes lies in shifting the focus of attention away from quantitative indicators toward quality and efficiency, from expanding production capital to renewing it, from increasing the extraction of fuel and raw resources toward making savings in them, improving their utilization, and accelerating the development of a high-technology and environmentally clean production and social infrastructure.

However, technological changes in production by themselves make up only part of the revolutionary transformations aimed at renewing socialism. Profound social changes are also required at the same time.

Ownership under socialism. Radical restructuring of the whole system of ownership relations constitutes the prime basis for the formation of the new complexion of socialism. Ensuring everyone enjoys the status of a true master of production—in the country, at his enterprise, and in his job—is an indispensable condition for producing specifically socialist driving forces for production. It is becoming increasingly obvious that socialist ownership possesses a complex internal structure and is characterized by richness and great dynamism. The determination of the criteria of the socialist nature of different forms of ownership assumes fundamental significance in this regard. Two types of such criteria can be distinguished.

First, the definition of those bounds beyond which a specific form of ownership cannot be integrated within the system of socialist relations and enters into antagonistic conflict with them. It seems that labor as the basis of acquisition—that is, the exclusion of exploitation—is such a boundary.

Second, it is essential to pinpoint the criteria which determine the nature of the relations among working people, society, and the state. The new complexion of socialism excludes methods of administraive coercion in the economy and offers a union of effective economic management and social safeguards for the prosperity and harmonious development of the individual and collectives.

State ownership can be represented in various forms—from all-union and republic ownership to ownership in the hands of soviets.

The growth in the variety of hands in which ownership rests and ways of exercising ownership are also in the long run bound up with the activization of the cooperative movement and the development of individual labor activity. It is proposed to develop the share-based form of ownership, including by associations between various types of ownership (for example, the setting up of joint production units by state and cooperative enterprises).

Social justice under socialism. Ensuring social justice is a very important requirement on the socialist system.

Socialist social justice comprises the following characteristic features: The equality of all members of society irrespective of their social status, job, property, and so forth; the allocation of the social product among members of society dependent upon their labor contribution; the possibility for everyone to take part in running public affairs; and strict observance and protection of other rights and freedoms of the individual, in particular, the real assurance of the rights of women and children.

Socialism proposes that the basic principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor" be rigorously and unwaveringly observed and that leveling trends and other other deformations that arise in the sphere of distribution be resolutely overcome.

However, differentiation of incomes caused by unwarranted privileges, the application of incorrect criteria in the assessment of the labor of individual professional groups, unjustified redistribution of incomes among individual regions, and various kinds of unlawful unearned income are alien to the principle of social justice.

All this needs legislative regulation.

Social justice in the economic development of union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, and rayons that is appropriate to socialism has not yet been achieved in our country. Their populations feel no direct link between the results of their labor and the economic resources of a region and its prosperity. This nurtures both a sponging mentality and the conviction that there is no social justice. Regional economic accountability is designed to be an economic form which will ensure social justice is exercised in its national-territorial aspect.

Social justice should also be realized in practice in urban-rural relations. This problem also consists not just in equalizing incomes but in progressively changing the nature of labor in agricultural production and the sociocultural setup in the countryside.

The new complexion of socialism presuppoposes that society provides extensive social safeguards and social protection for all its members. Every member of society should enjoy sufficiently high guaranteed minimum security, including pension security.

The problem of ensuring social protection for the economic position of not just today's generation but that of tomorrow is of fundamental importance. This dictates new approaches to financing defense enterprises, utilizing nonrenewable resources, and defining scientific and technical policy.

A new type of centralism. The achievement by socialism of a qualitatively new state is bound up with the radical restructuring of the economic mechanism and the development of a new model for it. This model is fundamentally based on the formation of a qualitatively new type of democratic centralism exercising the advantages of national [obshchenarodnyy] economic management and local initiative.

Centralism's strength depends not on the number of questions assumed by the center, but upon their content, the competence of the decisions made, and the ability to ensure their implementation. Such an approach presupposes that only those questions which cannot be successfully resolved at the level of grassroots economic components fall within the center's competence. This consists of elaborating an economic growth strategy, defining objectives and priorities in the development of the national economy, and pursuing an inegrated scientific, technical, structural, and investment policy. The rights of union, republic, and territorial formations need substantial expansion.

The union of centralism and autonomy presupposes that the center's influence on enterprise's activity is exercised through extensive use of flexible, predominantly economic methods of regulation. Their essence lies in managing production through people's interests. The expansion and enhancement of the scientific soundness of economic methods of regulation—prices, credit, taxes, payments for resources, other financial levers, wholesale trade in the means of production, the development of republic and regional economic accountability and self-financing—represent a very important thread in the formation of the new type of democratic centralism.

The democratization of planning. The new content of national economic plans is directly bound up with the change in their targeting and and the new role of the social sections of plans. In the transition to the new model of planning it is essential, although not easy to ensure, that the very important social tasks be made the starting point for drawing up the basic indicators for development, structural shifts, the formation of the state budget, and capital investment policy. The social regearing of planning demands that scientifically validated social normatives be developed and the effectiveness of planned social development measures and their impact on collective and personal interests and the growth of labor activeness be determined.

The restructuring of the planning and management of social development in the light of the complex structure of the subjects of socialist ownership presupposes the decentralization of the processes for forming and distributing social development resources and the transition from predominantly sectoral to territorial management. It is expedient to tackle the problems of major structural shifts in social development at the national economic level. The management of social development and its financial backup should be gradually transferred to the level of union and autonomous republics, oblasts and krays, rayons and cities, and regions.

The socialist market. The socialist market is an essential condition for the effective functioning of the socialist economy and galvanizing of its driving forces.

Two groups of tasks need to be solved here: First, the task of creating conditions for the normal functioning of the market—without shortages, waiting lines, and inflation; and second, the task of mastering the art of its systematic regulation—steadily maintaining a balance, anticipating structural changes in various forms of social production, and ensuring the implementation of social priorities when fashioning the pattern of output.

The further development of the socialist market will proceed as a process whereby the exaggeration of vertical ties within the economy and excessive state ownership and monopolization of economic structures are overcome, profound structural deformations removed, and supply and demand balanced. The consolidation of economic management methods makes it possible to foresee the formation of markets which are presently either absent or merely embryonic—investment, foreign currency, and securities markets. Under existing conditions, however, the transition to free purchase and sale and flexible prices which take account of supply and demand carries within it the threat of uncontrolled price rises, a fall in the volume of physical output, and a change in the pattern of output whereby the range of cheap goods is eroded. If shortages are to be overcome, instruments that exert an economic influence on producers must be introduced.

The economic system of renewed socialism is designed to dialectically combine the most effective production with the humanist aims of its development; the increasing differentiation of labor remuneration in accordance with end results with a developed system of social safeguards; the shedding of surplus manpower with overall and effective employment; the revival of the cooperative system and extensive development of cooperative principles with the strengthening and renewal of the state sector of the economy; the formation of a socialist market and the intensification of its influence on production with improvement in the methods of centralized management planning; and increasing flexibility of the economy with a guarantee of its complete balance.

Further on Discussion of Socialism

PM2407110589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Final part of article prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Social Sciences Section based on its regular monthly seminar, under the rubric "Questions of Theory: Discussion Platform": "Toward a Modern Concept of Socialism"]

[Text] **Formation of a rule-of-law state**. One of the central issues in the new concept of socialism is that of its social and political organization. In contrast to K. Marx' and F. Engels' concept of the new society, which they saw as classless, stateless, and nonpolitical, in real history socialism retained its class and political character. The political system of the renewed socialist society will not be a system of bureaucratic power alienated from the people, as was the case in the recent past and as is still the case in places even today—but genuine people's power, that is, government of the people through the agency of the people themselves, increasingly turning into stateless, nonpolitical, public self-government.

Experience accumulated in the socialist countries indicates that the establishment of a classless society is a more complex task than was previously thought. The elimination of man's exploitation of man and the creation of a classless society do not coincide in time. Soviet society today is a society without exploitation of one class by another, but it remains a society in which there are classes and class relationships, state-political organization continues to exist, and, therefore, there are those who govern and those who are governed.

While the class division of society, politics, and political power remains, what can and must be ensured is not communist, but socialist people's self-management, which retains its political character, but is now a democratic system of running the affairs of state and society, which is operating increasingly through working people themselves.

When one talks about the new traits of democracy, one means not only the expansion of citizens' rights and freedoms, deepening glasnost, effective criticism and self-criticism, and monitoring of the authorities' activity by the masses, but the chief feature is the fundamental restructuring of the entire power system. This process presupposes a mechanism of people's power whereby at all times working people possess a "master package" of power functions. In this connection the question of the place and role of political parties and mass public organizations and movements becomes particularly acute.

The formation of a rule-of-law state requires the consistent implementation of a number of fundamental principles which have been established in the process of the long development of the social process and political culture and which constitute integral features of socialist civilized conduct and of real people's power and democracy.

The first would be the supremacy of the law in all spheres of public life. In a socialist rule-of-law state a law adopted by the supreme organ of power, with strict observance of all the constitutional procedures, cannot be amended, suspended, or revoked either by departmental acts, government orders, or party organs' decisions.

This principle is associated with another—the link by law between the state itself and its organs. This means that the state which has issued the law has no right to breach it itself. This principle opposes all forms of tyranny, willfulness, and license.

The bulk of normative acts currently comprises ministries' and departments' instructions, government resolutions, and least of all, laws. This is the legacy of command-and-administer management. In the rule-of-law state the ratio would be the reverse; the law would play the main part, both in terms of the volume of regulation and in terms of the number of acts. In view of the federal nature of our state, the rights of union and autonomous republics would be substantially expanded in the lawmaking sphere too.

The new mode of legal regulation would give those involved in social relations great freedom of conduct, above all freedom for the producers of material benefits. In the management sphere organizations' and citizens' relationships with superiors are subject to the principle: Anything that is not prohibited is permitted.

The rule-of-law state has to devise a lawmaking mechanism in which draft laws are prepared in the actual legislative organs, but, if necessary, referendums and nationwide discussions are held, and there is a permanent experts' commission to study draft laws, with a fixed procedure for considering the experts' findings. Party organs can only participate in the norm creation process in constitutional forms. All these innovations can be provided by the recently created USSR Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet.

Democratic principles and mechanisms find legal enshrinement in a rule-of-law state. The legal regulation of glasnost ensures maximum openness in the activity of state organs and public organizations, free availability of statistics, comprehensive information for citizens, a real opportunity for citizens to express their opinions on matters of state life, and a procedure for taking these views into account. Legal regulation covers the activity of press organs and the media.

An important principle of the rule-of-law state is that of the safeguarding of the interests of human beings, protection of their rights and freedoms, and mutual responsibility of state and individual. The human being is the center around whom and in whose interests the entire social mechanism—from economy to ideology—functions. The theory and practice of the suppression of individual interests by social interests, often interpreted in a speculative way, are eliminated.

More attention must be paid to the question of safeguarding the rights of the people. Perestroyka, democracy, and glasnost have revealed the negative phenomena which have accumulated over the decades in interethnic relations. It is a question of fundamentally overhauling the nationalities question. Basically, the Leninist theoretical legacy on the nationalities questions and the experience of the initial years of building the multinational Soviet state have to be largely reinterpreted. The topicality, acuteness, and multifacated nature of this problem demand an independent discussion.

The spiritual culture of socialism. The renewal of Soviet society in perestroyka conditions must be an integral and comprehensive process. Without restoring the spiritual potential of national-state life one will scarcely be able to solve, economic, political, and social tasks.

In order to be able to reveal more fully the patterns of social development you need to pay closer attention to the priority development of culture, artistic included. The chief task of humanitarian culture is to give social processes spiritual substance. Social policy is based on society's creative potential, which dictates the very important role of culture and its social functions.

The practice of the "residual principle" of funding culture, which became established in the "personality cult" period and was developed in the period between the sixties and early eighties, and the popular sociological view of it as a derivative of economic relations have led to a situation where the entire system of reproduction and transmission of culture to new generations falls well short of world standards.

V.I. Lenin stressed that a socialist society must take and process all the culture it has inherited from past formations. Although we often repeat this thesis of Lenin's we have essentially rejected many achievements of world culture that do not fit into an artificially created scheme. The one-sided, mechanical contrasting of socialist and bourgeois culture is still widespread. Dogmatic ideas are still hindering interaction between our culture and general human spiritual values. Therefore, entire strata of culture have been taken out of circulation and academic investigation of them has deteriorated, which has had an adverse effect on society's historical consciousness, particularly in relation to young people. At the same time, the aim of priority development of the material-technical base and the abrupt and in many respects dramatic transition to an industrial society formed a technocratic ideology and mentality, which were objectively antithetical toward the spiritual essence of culture and its humanitarian content. Essentially human beings began to be seen as an instrument and social resource, which was reflected in the dehumanization of education and instruction, of mutual relations with society, and of the perception of the ethnic legacy.

Under Stalin age-old qualities such as decency, honesty, sense of duty, and others which were part of the spiritual foundations were ignored and disparaged. Human beings were seen as mere "cogs."

The attitude toward culture now needs to be fundamentally revised and reassimilated. In order to raise the population's general cultural level it would be advisable to create a unionwide program of esthetic education, and the revival of the prestige of humanitarian education is meant to play a big part in this.

The paramount task at the present stage is to revise the technical principles of the socialist cultural revolution, which were mutilated and distorted between the thirties and the fifties, and to resurrect Lenin's concept of socialist culture. Efforts must be focused on devising a new cultural policy in perestroyka conditions. The concept of the culture of a society under renewal will bring socialist culture into the context of world culture and establish general human spiritual values as the foundation of the assimilation of the cultural legacy of the past and the present-day culture of the people of the world.

In the light of the new thinking it is necessary to study culture as a very important factor in the rapprochement of the people, humanization of socialism, improvement of Soviet society's health, and resurrection in it of lost moral ideals and spiritual values and renewal of the concept of the cultural ideal of socialism.

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Attempts to create a democratic, humane, and economically efficient society on the basis of socialist principles have been made in many countries. Great October and the activity of the Bolshevik party and all Russian working people during the period between 1917 and the end of the twenties were an historic turning point in this area.

It would be an exaggeration to to think that an integral model for running the national economy and all social life had been devised in its entirety and proved in practice in Soviet society in the twenties. But if the Bolshevik party had continued to follow Lenin's course, by consistently implementing the plan he had devised for socialist building in Soviet society, and the methods of economic management of production had been refined and developed in conformity with the altered conditions one might have expected the creation of a model of socialism equal to the demands of our era.

Our country is facing the historic prospect of the revival of the old democratic values and mastery of new, modern ones. We have embarked on the path of the renewal of socialism and must continue to the end. The task now is to correctly determine all the stages that are to come in this process and devise effective political, legal, and economic mechanisms for building a new society. This is possible only on the basis of broad and open, creative discussion of the rich and contradictory experience of the peoples' struggle for socialism.

Trans-Siberian Trains Proceed After Flooding

LD0508173289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] TASS correspondent reports from Vladivostok.

Trains are agailn moving on the Trans-Siberian railroad. Movement was interrupted on the night of 2 August near Dalnerechensk due to catastrophic flooding.

A round-the-clock airlift between Vladivostok and Khabarovsk was used during the time the line was out of operation. The trains' passengers were lifted off the trains by this airlift.

'Full Text' of Georgian Rector's Letter Published

PM1008081689 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Jul 89 p 4

["Full text" of letter to PRAVDA by Sh. Papidze, rector of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee University of Marxism-Leninism, with editorial introduction: "Letter to PRAVDA"]

[Text] The ZARYA VOSTOKA editorial office had intended to reprint from PRAVDA (14 July) a letter from the rector of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism concerning the article "Federal Union" (PRAVDA, 12 July). However, the author informed us that his letter had been published in an abbreviated form. At Sh. Papidze's urgent request, we are publishing the full text of the letter sent to PRAVDA on 12 July 1989.

[Papidze letter] To Comrade V.G. Afanasyev, PRAVDA editorial office.

I submit to the PRAVDA editorial office an urgent and earnest request that it publish in an issue in the near future my present statement in connection with the article "Federal Union," published in the newspaper for 12 July this year, because it is of fundamental significance.

The leading author of this article, in every sense of the word, was Doctor of Legal Sciences Professor N.A. Mikhaleva.

I myself, in today's case, had an auxiliary role, which took the form solely of purely theoretical, brief reflections on certain leading principles of Leninist Soviet socialist federalism and the submission to the editorial office of certain checked, concise materials concerning our republic, and incidentally these were by no means fully reflected in the given article (the editorial office has them).

As for the comparatively lengthy materials concerning our Baltic republics and certian other provisions of the present article, it must be stressed that they come wholly and entirely from the pen of the esteemed N.A. Mikhaleva.

I saw them for the first time, to my profound regret, only when I received the newspaper today, that is, in the morning of 12 July, having not the least idea, for a number of objectively weighty reasons, that the work on the text of the article was deemed complete. I did not see the article in its final form, and did not sign it.

I will answer for every word in this statement,

Respectfully yours,
Sh. Papidze,
Rector of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee University of Marxism-Leninism.
12 July 1989.

Militia Journal Opened for General Subscription

PM2007133389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Militia Major General V. Shashkov, chief editor of SOVETSKAYA MILITSIYA, by Lieutenant N. Burbyga: "Journal's New Face"; first paragraph is an introduction; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] Until recently the journal SOVETSKAYA MILITSIYA was regarded as a narrow departmental publication. Only a narrow circle of people could subscribe to it. Now the limitations on subscription have been removed. Our correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga met with Militia Major General V. Shashkov, chief editor of the journal, and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Burbyga] Vladimir Nikitovich, how do you explain the fact that the journal, for many years regarded as a restricted publication, is becoming generally available?

[Shashkov] A little historical digression is needed to answer this question. The journal was first published in 1922. It was called RABOCHE-KRESTYANSKAYA MILITSIYA. It dealt with the life and activity of the then-new state system created to combat the criminal world and struggle to strengthen socialist law and order.

Unfortunately, the journal did not last long. It was closed in the early 1930's.

[Burbyga] How do you explain the journal's short life?

[Shashkov] Evidently the leadership of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, whose organ it was, deemed it undesirable to have its own platform. Glasnost, you realize, was not wanted at that time. And the journal was published again only in 1955 during the so-called Khrushchev thaw. All the same, although it was a sociopolitical publication, not everyone could subscribe to it, only internal affairs workers—and even then it could only be sent to their work address—and volunteer people's militiamen, with the permission of the chief of the rayon militia department. The paradox was that the journal was not "classified."

[Burbyga] I skimmed through several issues of the journal from recent years. I was struck by its narrow departmental trend.

[Shashkov] Now the journal has been reoriented to cater for a broad reading public. So its content will change. It is planned to reduce significantly the number of official materials. There will be a bias toward current affairs writing and topical articles on the daily lives of the Soviet militia, and, in keeping with tradition, we shall continue to publish stories by Soviet and foreign writers working in the detective story genre. Such well known writers as Yuliyan Semenov, Valentin Pikul, and other interesting writers promise their cooperation. So subscribers to our journal will not be disappointed.

Semipalatinsk Radiation Control Devices Erected

LD0508102289 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] In Kazakhstan, a Soviet republic north of central Asia, population centers adjoining the nuclear test site outside the city of Semipalatinsk are beginning to set up radiation control devices at crowded localities. This was initiated by local researchers and public figures concerned over proximity to the place where underground nuclear tests are carried out. Even though the local level of radioactivity does not exceed the norm, the population wants to be conversant with the situation in this field. Recently Semipalatinsk hosted a conference, participants in which decided to request the government to shut down the test site which began to be used 40 years ago.

Jewish Culture Club Established in Birobidzhan

PM2007124989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Contact Club"]

[Text] Birobidzhan—The Jewish Culture Club set up in Birobidzhan allows people to learn Yiddish, to obtain rare editions of the classics of Jewish literature, to familiarize themselves with the secrets of Jewish cookery, and to listen to folk songs and melodies. It has representatives of various nationalities among its members. The club's immediate plans are to establish contact with Jewish culture centers and societies operating in Moscow, Ufa, Riga, Irkutsk, and other of the country's cities.

Economic

Aganbegyan Favors Armenian Economic Zone

LD0908162189 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Soviet Academician Abel Aganbegyan is for declaring a special economic zone in Armenian areas hit by a devastating earthquake last December.

The economist, who leads the Academy of Sciences' commission overseeing efforts to bring these areas back to life, has told the weekly MOSCOW NEWS in an interview, which is published today, that this will help increase relief aid to the local population.

"According to initial estimates, damage from the quake amounted to eight billion roubles. Then, the figure was corrected to 13 billion roubles. But in reality many more will be needed for reconstruction," Aganbegyan said.

This is because new housing, social and industrial construction will be of a higher standard than before the earthquake.

Aid by the centre and all constituent republics totals eight billion roubles and another two billion roubles are set aside for building and installation jobs.

How can the rest be provided?

"Why not use the possibility of attracting foreign capital," Aganbegyan asked rhetorically in reply.

He counts first of all on the Armenian diaspora—three million Armenians living abroad. Contacts with foreign firms giving quake- related aid have also broadened.

So Aganbegyan suggested that Armenia be made a free enterprise zone, which could attract at even the first stage up to one billion dollars in foreign capital.

Speaking of the zone's possible specialisation, he said giant industrial projects should not be built there.

The zone should have small and medium-size enterprises belonging to different forms of property, including high-tech facilities partially geared to exporting their products, consumer goods factories, and tourist facilities.

Agricultural

Nikonov at Vinnitsa Conference on Sugar Production

LD0908225189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast: report from Vinnitsa by Correspondent V. Golubev—identified by screen caption]

[Text] How does one solve problems of sugar production? This topic was discussed at a conference in Vinnitsa. [Golubev] In sugar production there are many traditions which, to put it bluntly, today have put a brake on development of the sector. For example, why do sugar works function for just 4-5 months of the year, while for the rest of the time they are being repaired? You see that such facilities can successfully put out a mass of other food produce in (?mid)-season. Why is it that at beet-sowing farms, the yield of root crops continues to remain the main indicator, and not the sugar made from them? Hence the economic interests of the sugar works and the collective farm are by no means appropriate for an increase in sugar production. During a seminar, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov put these questions to leaders of the sector, sharpening them and transferring from the sphere of the organization of the economy to the sphere of policy. Only radical changes to production relations in the sector can move it forward. [video shows processing plant interiors; massive agricultural machinery outdoors, Nikonov talking to a group of men nearby]

[Begin recording] [Nikonov] Buy back the works; set up an association.... In the fields fight (?hard) so that there should be 18-percent sugar in the roots and not 2 kg of leafy tops at the time of the harvest. It would now be interesting for collective farms to overtake the weight of leafy tops and to deliver because they get money for the weight. [N.F. Kulinich, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic State Agro-industrial committee, identified by screen caption]

[Kulinich] That is right, Viktor Petrovich.

[Nikonov] On the subject of sugar. At this conference we are preparing to resolve the sugar matter.

[Golubev] Well, in principle there is the possibility today of going over to new relations; yes, Viktor Petrovich?

[Kulinich, responding instead of Nikonov] Of course we will not yet transfer today. The matter needs to be worked up. There are the interrelations with the budget, but there are two questions here. One question is that we need to raise the efficiency of both the fields and the processing, and to resolve these questions on the way. The model which has been worked through integration today is a splendid model, and we are making it the cornerstone (?of all) the work. [end recording]

Baltic Servicemen Aiding Harvest Want Change

PM0908114189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Morning Edition p2

[Own correspondent V. Nikolayeva report under the rubric "Direct Communication": "In the Fields Near Saratov"]

[Text] Saratov—Before explaining the situation, I would like to communicate the facts.

In the Volga region near Saratov a good harvest has now ripened (there has not been a harvest like it for the past 11 years). The country's government has allocated an extra 7,500 motor vehicles to the harvest—6,000 military vehicles and 1,500 civilian drivers from the Moscow region. These extra drivers brought in are indispensable: The harvest is making slow, heavy progress. It has rained virtually every day and the moisture content of the grain has reached 30 percent.

But there has been a nasty shock: Drivers from the Baltic Military District (1,500 motor vehicles working in five regions) have announced their reluctance to continue working here and are insisting that they be allowed to return to the Baltic, saying that they have economic accountability and a lot of work to do back home; and that labor organization is not up to standard here....

As I. Dvorkin, first deputy chairman of the oblast agro-industrial committee, explained to me, they have been negotiating with the military drivers for several days now. The departure of 1,500 motor vehicles threatens harvest losses. Representatives of the military district command who came here with the men believe that they should stay here, but the rank and file (many of whom are members of the People's Front) are insisting on having it their way. There has not been any sabotage—they are going about their protest the right way. The oblast leadership, according to Dvorkin, is doing everything possible to ensure that the catering, living arrangements, and labor organization are satisfactory.

I am waiting to see how the negotiations end.

Drought Affects Altay Grain Harvest

PM0908142489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Altay's Difficult Grain Harvest"]

[Excerpt] Barnaul, 3 Aug—The first consignments of rye and peas of the new harvest were received today by the Altay elevators. Their quality is good. The kray's main food crop—spring wheat, to which nearly 3 million hectares have been sown this year—is on the way.

"The grain growers' initial hopes connected with the good harvest are not being justified," says V. Gaskov, deputy chairman of the kray agro-industrial committee. "The drought in the past few days has scorched the grain on the fields of 10 steppe rayons. In the eastern and foothill zones the wheat has been lodged and twisted. [passage omitted]

Agricultural Developments for 6-9 Aug Noted

LD0908231389

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic service in Russian during 6-9 August, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

6 August

A total of 450,000 tonnes of grain crops of the new harvest had reached the receiving centers of the Ryazan non-Chernozem areas today. Thus, less than 100,000 tonnes is still due in order to meet in full the target for of selling grain to the state. (0700)

7 August

To date Belgorod grain growers have delivered over 650,000 tonnes of newly harvested grain to the stores, which is nearly nine-tenths of the state order. (0204)

Grain and eared crops have been harvested on about 1.5 million hectares in Saratov oblast—about half the sown area. (0900)

Karachayevo-Cherkessk: In spite of protracted bad weather the annual state order for grain—25,000 tonnes—has been fulfilled, and above-plan dispatches have begun. The greater part of grain sold is made up of wheat of strong and valuable varieties. (1000)

8 August

In Kazakhstan 3.5 million tonnes of grain crops have been harvested; this is 15 per cent of the republic's grain acreage. Southern oblasts have practically finished harvesting, while the north virgin lands oblasts are just reaping selectively. The main harvest campaign is in the west of the republic at present, where after years of drought, a good crop has been grown. (0800)

Ryazan oblast: So far almost 455,000 tonnes of grain, around 85 percent of the state target, have been delivered to the procurement points. (0600)

Over 450,000 tonnes of newly harvested grain have been gathered in Tambov oblast; this is half of the state target for grain sales. (0400)

The first thousand tonness of grain of the new harvest has arrived at the elevators of the Altay. A special feature of the present harvest is that the early grain has ripened simultaneously both in the steppe and foothills area. Kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] are unloading rye, winter wheat, and peas at state acceptance points. The farms of the kray intend to deliver to the state's resources at least 100,000 tonnes of rye. The main harvest will unfold at the end of August when spring grain on 4 million hectares will ripen. (1500)

Farms in the Rostov oblast are finishing the harvest, which is good. On average, there is over 28 quintals per hectare. In many rayons, including Dubovskiy, Zimovnikovskiy, Tarasovskiy and Kamenskiy, the state orders for the sale of grain has been far exceeded. Grain still has to be threshed on 85,000 hectaresa. (1500)

9 August

Ukrainian farms have fulfilled the state order for grain sales, having harvested about 15 million tonnes of grain. (0400)

Farmers in Tataria have threshed their first million hectares of grain. That is half the total area in the republic. Fodder procurement is also continuing. (0600)

Kharkov oblast farms have dispatched 1 million tonnes of early grain crops. (0600)

Volhynia oblast has fulfilled its plan for sale of grain to the state more than a month earlier than last year, having laid in 140,000 tonnes. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 0600)

Scientific

Benefits, Costs of Space Research Discussed

LD0908165889 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Participants in a round-table talk, which was published in the newspaper MOSCOW NEWS today, emphasised the need to elaborate a sensible and balanced space research programme and define a strategic line in space exploration.

Academician Roald Sagdeyev, people's deputy of the USSR, Konstantin Feoktistov, pilot-cosmonaut of the USSR and doctor of sciences (technology), and Yaroslav Golovanov, a writer, shared their reflections on the not-easy problems of modern cosmonautics. They spoke, in part, about a relatively low efficiency of some development projects and the low return from the application of the results of space research in the national economy.

For instance, Feoktistov has estimated that hauling payloads into orbit with the aid of the new space shuttle Buran will be 20 to 40 times costlier than in using Soyuz and Proton expendable rocket boosters. These rockets are dependable and have long been in operation. The delivery of cargo to the orbital station will also cost ten to forty times more than with the aid of Progress tanker-transport vehicles. Although the development of the Buran failed to get a cheap re-usable spaceship to ferry space cargoes, the spending of money on this is continued, Feoktistov said.

Academician Sagdeyev emphasised the need for new approaches to carrying out space research. In this regard, he pointed to the efficiency of boosting international space cooperation on the commercial basis.

Participants in the talk were of one mind that the Soviet space programme can be modified in the right direction if it is put to a public discussion and then submitted to the consideration and endorsement of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Arctic Studies Commission Formed

LD0908171189 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—A permanent Arctic studies commission has been formed under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Its chairman is Academician Nikolay Laverov, vice-president of the academy.

The commission was formed in accordance with the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR. It will assist the Academy of Sciences to coordinate research in the sphere of economic and social development of Soviet Arctic regions, geology, oceanology, biology, ecology and also legal problems and special Arctic region questions.

The commission plans to elaborate measures to promote the academy's implementation of the decisions of the Arctic states' conference on coordination of scientific research in Arctic regions, which were taken in Leningrad in December 1988.

Military

Kiev Military District Commander Interviewed

PM0908131189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General B.V. Gromov, commander of the Red Banner Kiev Military District, by Ya. Oleynichenko: "My Profession Is Serving the Fatherland"; date and place of interview not stated]

[Text] [Oleynichenko] Boris Vsevolodovich, the rapid process of the democratization of all spheres of life is growing in society, and the frontiers of glasnost are expanding. Are these phenomena inherent in the Armed Forces and what are their specific features here? For instance, can pluralism of opinion and the commander's unity of command, the democratization of awareness and the strictness of army discipline be reconciled?

[Gromov] Questions of this kind were extensively discussed during the work of the first Congress of People's Deputies and have been put to me by many correspondents of the foreign mass media. The army is an organic part of our society and so everything taking place in society cannot bypass the armed forces. Moreover, in my view, the revolutionary changes by which the entire people are now living should proceed at a preferential rate in the army because its responsibility is very great and its tasks are complex. The personnel's moral and ethical and professional training is to a high standard. Is perestroyka not proceeding here as rapidly as we would like?

As for pluralism and unity of command, democracy and discipline, these are not opposite concepts, as they might seem at first glance, but interconnected concepts which organically supplement each other. The commander bears responsibility for the decision he has taken—from the military, party, and general human standpoints. But this decision is elaborated by collective intelligence, by the democratic, open discussion and comparison of the most diverse opinions. There are plenty of examples of this—the experience of the Great Patriotic War and of many nonstandard situations, of Afghanistan. We discussed our plans and actions there at almost all levels—from regiment commanders to platoon commanders.

Especially under peacetime conditions there are great opportunities for merging pluralism and democracy with unity of command. It is a bad commander who tries to impose his position by the "strong-arm method," we put such people right. Discipline is an inalienable feature of democracy, without it there can be no army. That discipline should not be a blind, automatic discipline which oppresses man but an aware discipline perceived as a high degree of organization is another matter. We should not fight for its weakening, which is sometimes camouflaged as "humanization." In the army there should be, and is, pluralism of opinions, but not of actions.

[Oleynichenko] Army themes have become popular recently. That is obviously natural: Glasnost has made it possible to conduct a frank talk about what was previously simply kept quiet. But now publications and broadcasts are appearing all the time exposing various ugly phenomena of army life: conservatism, dogmatism, the suppression of the individual, "hazing...." What is your attitude toward this?

[Gromov] Of course you are acquainted with the recent CPSU Central Committee Secretariat resolution "on the central press' coverage of the life and activity of the Soviet Armed Forces." I want to draw attention to the following idea: Concepts like duty, honor, dignity, and loyalty to the military oath have disappeared from many publications. There is frequently no place in them for heroics, romanticism, or thoughts of the lofty mission of military service and respect for the army.

We military men treat the printed word with great attention and respect. But when only negative things appear from one day to the next, this causes both perplexity and distress. I am sure that the military theme in many mass media has now been farmed out to incompetent people with little knowledge of the thrust of the matter. For instance, of the staffers of the popular central television youth program which frequently touches on army topics not one has served a single day in the army.

Here I in no way dispute the right of any person to his own opinion. But it is time to ask who gives the right, and to whom, to shake the faith of the audience of many millions of young people in the sanctity of military duty and in our Armed Forces who have proved their loyalty to the fatherland by their entire history?

[Oleynichenko] In other words you are against a kind of "demobilization of the spirit." At the same time there should not be zones in our country closed to glasnost and criticism. What about the "sore points" of army life—should they be overlooked "for the good of the cause?"

[Gromov] In no circumstances. Everything must be shown as it is. But negative phenomena alone should not be sought out to gloat over, they should not be placed one after the other for the sake of alleged sensationalism. Let the "proportion" of negative elements and their emphasis in publications and broadcasts reflect the presence of these phenomena in real life as accurately as possible. Otherwise the impression is formed that the political aims of specific circles stand behind this whole flow of incompetent faultfinding.

[Oleynichenko] We have touched on the question of the suppression of the individual and so-called nonstatutory relations....

[Gromov] Let's illustrate the idea of "emphases" in criticism with the following examples. Yes, the army has its own specific features—strict obedience, the unswerving duty to fulfill an order. But surely a serviceman's fulfillment of his mission does not completely rule out the development of his abilities and talent. On the contrary, we try to develop them. For that officers are required to have intelligence, tact, a liking for people, composure, and constant responsibility. These qualities do not close the road to talent, do not suppress it. Military discipline—aware, well intentioned discipline—has never broken the individual. Moreover, it has often balanced out the individual.

Now about "hazing." I believe that it was not the Army on its own which gave rise to this ugly phenomenon. Similar mutual relations used to take shape in the postwar children's homes, among youths wandering the city streets, and in today's educational establishments, schools, and vocational and technical colleges. Only the names have been different on each occasion. Of course, this phenomenon is unacceptable for the Army and we intercept any manifestations most severely.

In Afghanistan there was not a trace of this attitude among the servicemen. An atmosphere of mutual assistance, of combat brotherhood reigned there whereby the more experienced servicemen tried with really touching concern to protect the young men from risk, from taking part in serious operation and in bloody encounters.

[Oleynichenko] In their childhood people of my generation who grew up during the war saw many military professions, especially those of the seaman, pilot, and border guard, in a romantic light. Now there is no such popularity. What in your view is preventing the military man's prestige from being maintained at the proper level?

[Gromov] It is well known how complex the situation in Poland is now, yet the Army's prestige is as high as ever. U.S. public opinion has a very respectful attitude toward its military men, giving them moral and material support. Why today are we ashamed to talk aloud about pride in our army and its heroic destiny? Why does much seem shameful now, although not mudslinging and dubious stories about the armed forces?

I was born 7 November 1943. A few months before that my father died in the fighting at the Kursk Bulge, without having seen me even once. My military career began at the age of 12, at the Suvorov school. When I became an officer I realized that activity as a commander demands all your efforts without reserve. You cannot fit your responsibility into an 8-hour working day. An officer must be ready to act in any very complex situation. His profession is selfless service to the fatherland. At any moment he can move with his family from the north to the south or from the west to the east and at any moment he can be sent to a "hot spot."

Here our military men's domestic conditions leave room for improvement. The accommodation question is particularly acute. It generates other social problems which cannot fail to be reflected on the overall mood, on the possibility of giving themselves fully to service. The kindergarten, work for your wife—after all you cannot stop thinking about that. And nonetheless, the overall morale of cadre military men is high. That is an example of profound internal discipline and high morality. And not everyone is capable of it. After all, in the past young people passed through ordeals of deprivation and shortages but now they have enough and often get it easily, without earning it. The army's prestige is not only in safeguarding peaceful labor but also in taking a direct part in it. You remember the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station, the earthquake in Armenia, the annual aid in bringing in the harvest, the work on big construction sites. As for the popularity of the military profession among young people, it can best be borne out by the following fact: This year competition for entry to the military schools increased considerably....

[Oleynichenko] Boris Vsevolodovich, the tragic events in Tbilisi and the part played in them by the military subunits generated a big public response. The Congress of People's Deputies returned repeatedly to this question and now, as you know, as special commission has been created. What is your view on this question?

[Gromov] Without in any way anticipating the commission's conclusions I want to state directly that I am sure the Army was not to blame for those tragic events. I read ZARYA VOSTOKA, which was distributed directly at the Congress. It was not the leaders but ordinary people, eyewitnesses to and participants in those clashes, who wrote the pure truth and cited facts from which it is clear that this was a deliberate hostile anti-Soviet action. The military men thwarted the execution of a perfidious plan. Blood was shed. That is a pity, an irreparable sorrow for us all. But how much blood would have been shed had the military not been on the streets of Tbilisi, and if the extremists and provocateurs had had complete freedom of action? There is just one thing here which is not clear to me: Why was the republic's leadership so blind, why did it have absolutely no control over the situation and why did it merely keep sending telegrams to Moscow?....

[Oleynichenko] The place where today's military man serves is on the front line of scientific and technical progress. Naturally he must be a high-class specialist. We can lag, and do lag behind foreign countries in the production of footwear or jeans but we cannot allow ourselves to be overtaken in the army's technical equipping. The principle of ability, not numbers, exists in the Army. What is your attitude toward the decision to reduce expenditure on defense and toward proposals concerning the "volunteer principle" for forming an army as in a number of Western countries?

[Gromov] The decision to reduce our Armed Forces and expenditure on defense is absolutely correct in all respects. It has been carefully weighed in respect to the military. Our recent foreign policy course is an example of how the military danger and threat can and must be reduced by political methods. But to pursue an independent policy so that no one can hinder us in our historical choice, we also need military strength. That is why proposals to disband the Army, to reduce it by 50 percent, and to create territorial military contingents seem to me not very naive [as published] or simply ingenuous.

The renunciation of universal military service also seems to me unacceptable right now. The military-political situation in the world so far does not allow us to embark on the "volunteer principle" for forming the Army and Navy. Indeed, our history has taught us lessons that are too early to forget.

As for improving the proficiency ratings of military specialists, here I agree. In the army there are already elements of professionalism, especially in the strategic forces, where crews are manned only by officers and ensigns—experts at their job. Many specialists with very high qualifications work for the country's defense. Only today we must proceed not from positions of military confrontation but try to use every opportunity for agreements making it possible to maintain the Armed Forces and armaments at the minimum necessary level.

[Oleynichenko] Over the many years of silence society formed the opinion that army equipment is reliable and that military units have enormous mobilization potential and can cope with any task set them. But now the latest emergency situation involving a submarine or aircraft is constantly being made public.... To what does this attest: Is the army losing its qualities or are we simply dispelling the myth about the Army which we ourselves created in the period of stagnation?

[Gromov] Neither the former nor the latter, I think. The Armed Forces are an enormous organism. Even according to the theory of probability various incidents can happen here. Formerly, people simply kept quiet about them. Perhaps it is for precisely that reason that they now come to the fore. Because of their novelty value, so to speak.

At the same time there are also objective tendencies. Equipment is growing obsolete in many respects and if at plants or factories people sometimes work on them to the bitter end, so to speak, in our business this could entail unpredictable consequences. One more factor is the psychological one. Processes and morale in society cannot fail to influence the internal situation in the Army; the aggravation of interethnic relations in a number of regions of the country for instance. Commanders and political workers must consider all this in their work and reduce negative phenomena to a minimum.

[Oleynichenko] Your program as one of the country's people's deputies devotes considerable attention to the problem of the "Afghan" servicemen. How are they being resolved?

[Gromov] First, I am profoundly convinced that "the Afghans' problems" which are now being gossiped about in every direction simply do not exist. I mean the idle stories about how they find it difficult to enter into our present life and do not adapt easily to society. On the contrary. These people often set the tone in many good undertakings by labor collectives. In the Army they can always be relied upon and you can always find understanding, support, human responsiveness, and a special feeling of military comradeship.

Of course, unresolved domestic issues—housing, employment, and sometimes medical and resort treatment for invalids—are worrying. Your heart does not stop aching for those who have still not returned from captivity—we are seeking to help them by all possible means.

[Oleynichenko] Many of the military units which our editorial office's staffers have visited subscribe to PRAVDA UKRAINY. Our collective greatly values the popularity of our newspaper among army readers. We are running sections entitled "I serve the Soviet Union!"—on the life of the army today—and "No one is Forgotten"—on the unfading exploit of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War—and we devote many items to the heroic pages of the history of our Armed Forces and the training of young men for military service.

But I should like to know what vital questions, from your viewpoint, sometimes escape the newspaper's attention? What wishes would you like to express to us?

[Gromov] I should like first of all to thank the editorial office collective on behalf of the command for the attention which it pays to the Armed Forces' life and activity. Our conversation today is one more confirmation of that. I think that in further work you should preserve your inherent balance and reasonableness.

At the same time I should like to see the editorial office tackling the vital problems of army life and primarily the social protection of servicemen and their families, which considerably influences combat capability. I should like to see statements by servicemen on the most diverse topical themes more frequently in PRAVDA UKRAINY. And another thing—don't be shy of repelling those who voluntarily or otherwise try to create a distorted opinion of the Army, to sow dissent between the Army and the peoples, and to undermine society's trust in its Armed Forces. In my view here many people's position has been infected by complacency and lacks an understanding of the acuteness of the moment, assertiveness, and implacability.

[Oleynichenko] And last, Boris Vsevolodovich, the newspaper's readers would be interested to know a few more details about you. What is the schedule for a commander's day, how does he fill his free time, what are his purely human concerns?

[Gromov] I get up every day at 0530. That has been my habit for many years. Usually I work to 20000-2030 hours. Every day is unpredictable and so I am not used to planning my free time. But when I have an hour or two I read a periodical, I love the ballet and music, from Shostakovich to rock, and sport—many types but particularly tennis. Here, nearby, at the army sports club stadium, I sometimes limber up with my fellow servicemen.

I have concerns—my sons have come from Saratov. The younger one, Andrey, will start the third grade. And Maksim, who met me at the Afghan border—when I was withdrawing the troops I was one of the last to cross the border—will soon begin life as a military man. He firmly intends to enter the Suvorov school.

Well, the era of prosperity has not yet come....

'Aircraft-Carrying Ship' Difference Described

PM0908104989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 89 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed answer to reader's letter under the rubric "We Answer Readers' Questions": "Do We Have Aircraft Carriers?"—first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] USSR Defense Ministry information for the United Nations indicates that there are four aircraft-carrying ships in our Navy. What kind of ships are these and how do they differ from aircraft carriers?
[Signed] A. Khristoforov

An aircraft-carrying ship is a surface warship equipped with aircraft or helicopters. This ship has a flight deck or a takeoff and landing area, and also the technical means for flight control. So aircraft carriers and also antisubmarine warfare ships which have at least one helicopter on board are also included in the concept of "aircraft-carrying ships."

The four ships in the USSR Navy which you mentioned belong to the class of aircraft-carrying cruisers. They are equipped with artillery and missile systems and vertical takeoff aircraft designed to strike surface-, air-, and land-based targets. But this weapon plays a defensive role. The main task of our aircraft-carrying cruisers is to search for and destroy submarines.

How do these ships differ from the aircraft carriers in the U.S. Navy, for example? Primarily in the type of tasks fulfilled and the weapons used. As an important component of the U.S. strategic forces reserve, U.S. aircraft carriers have over 100 aircraft of different kinds on board, a significant number of them attack aircraft equipped with nuclear weapons. In total the modern aircraft carrier can carry up to 140 nuclear charges. Consequently the displacement also differs. Whereas Soviet aircraft-carrying cruisers have a displacement of about 40,000 tonnes, U.S. aircraft carriers have a displacement of up to 100,000 tonnes.